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FEELINGS AGAINST NAZI GERMANY have justifiably risen in this country in consequence of the renewed persecution of Jews and Catholics, but New York expressed them in two episodes which cannot be excused even on the plea of impetuosity. One is Mayor LaGuardia's refusal to license a German masseur because of alleged discrimination against American Jews in Germany. The other is the riot on board the Bremen. The Mayor need only recall the time when Big Bill Thompson was "running King George out of Chicago" to realize how absurd a mayor can be who takes up a private war with a foreign government. And he is only a little less absurd if his war is in a worthier cause than that of "pure" history for Chicago school children. The riot on the Bremen is not even an outburst of impetuosity, but is the first of a series of similar disturbances to be staged on every German ship that harbors in New York. Mayor LaGuardia and the Communists who pulled down the Bremen's flag have no knowledge of German conditions if they believe their action weakens the Nazi regime. It may influence those who make policy, but an illegal outburst rallies to the German government more than one waverer who becomes indignant over the treatment of Germany and Germans abroad. The fight against fascism must be waged, but it should be fought first against fascist tendencies in this country, where there is a real threat to traditional liberties. The State Department has smoothed over the incipient troubles from the New York excesses, but it was near to having to make a humiliating apology to the Nazi government for American lawlessness.

WE FAIL TO UNDERSTAND why the President is afraid to come out in the open against the Tydings-McCormack sedition bill. One nod from him, and that assault on the democratic liberties of the nation will not be "given a rule" in the House, and so will never come to a vote. It slipped through the Senate by accident, at a time when only a handful of Senators were present. In the House, Representatives Maverick, Marcantonio, and Amlie did distinguished work in drawing up one of the best arguments on freedom of speech laid before Congress in recent times. Maverick and Amlie signed a strong minority report against the bill. But the committee shut its eyes to its real intent, pretended that it was needed to stop communist inroads in our fighting forces, and reported it out. The chambers of commerce and the patriotic societies now are exerting every influence to bring the bill to a vote, trusting that Congressmen who privately know it is dangerous will be afraid to come out openly against it. In this they may be mistaken, as the opposition to the bill is growing, and several other Congressmen, among them Representatives Celler and Duffy of New York and Healey of Massachusetts, have the courage to defend free speech and a free press as a heritage of the party of Jefferson. The President, when asked about the bill at a press conference "had not read it," meaning perhaps: "I don't intend to burn my fingers." Yet the President knows about it, knows there is no communist menace in this country, and no threat to the army and navy, and he knows, too, that the Bill of Rights is in grave danger. The country is being swept by a panic as though a war were in progress, yet only one national leader, Secretary Ickes, has dared to speak up for free speech. The President by a few well-chosen words could restore a sense of proportion to the country, and put an end to the spate of fascist legislation.

SENATOR JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, always an opponent of generous federal aid for public schools, is sponsor for a scheme authorizing the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to lend them $10,000,000 without specifying how this is to be distributed. The debts of the public schools now amount to more than three billion dollars, over half of it for back salaries. The late Senator Cutting proposed a $40,000,000 loan, which passed the Senate but was defeated in conference. But Senator Robinson, who voted against the Cutting proposal, is up for reelection in Arkansas, and the schools in his state are in a shocking condition. Under this bill Arkansas can get much more than its share of the appropriation, since the Senator (like Pat Harrison) is one of those Administration leaders who has to

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be taken care of. He had the bill heard by sub-committee in executive session with only two witnesses appearing, one of them from Arkansas. It was at once reported to the full committee, and then at once to the Senate. There Senator Wheeler offered an amendment providing equitable distribution of the money and permitting no state to receive more than 10 per cent of the total, an amendment which Robinson naturally opposes. As the amount provided is too small to be of much use to the schools it had better not pass at all, since it gives Congressmen the opportunity to say untruthfully that they have done something for the schools. But without the Wheeler amendment it would become still worse, a special kind of campaign fund for Senator Robinson.

THE CONSUMER—another name for Everyman—has little reason to thank the New Deal and Congress. At best he gets a little lip service. When real protection for him is suggested by officials of the AAA they are promptly dismissed. The pure-food-and-drug campaign of the Department of Agriculture is being constantly inhibited by special interests who know how to choke off good legislation. The late Mrs. Mary Rumsey, as head of the Consumers Division of the National Emergency Council, saw how consumers might be stimulated to take an interest in themselves, and the local councils she set up have been a useful beginning. But she had no genuine support, and since her death her organization has been like an anaemic orphan, with little money and few friends. Hers was pioneer work, as this country is far behind most democracies in its appreciation of the potentialities of consumers' cooperation. Though $300,000,000 in business was done by consumers' cooperatives last year, the sum could and should be multiplied ten times. Sweden, for instance, prefers to fight monopolies, not with laws, but simply by giving encouragement to cooperatives, a far more effective curb. We should like to see in this country a persistent, large-scale official support for consumers' cooperation in its every aspect. The Consumers Division of the Emergency Council should be extended and strengthened, and the public should be taught its own strength. We regret to hear that the consumers' division is to be transferred to the NRA, which is like giving it desk room in a mausoleum. Obviously the hope of its opponents is that there it can be killed off without scandal. Unless Washington is going to become exclusively the headquarters for producers, this transfer should be prevented.

NEW SHIPPING LEGISLATION at this session of Congress has been abandoned, according to high Administration officials. This means only that the scandalous Bland-Copeland bill will not be passed by the Senate after its narrow victory in the House. But as we have pointed out before, without any legislation the shipping ring can continue to shovel money out of the Treasury, and the President, if he tries to cancel the mail contracts, will run into prolonged litigation. There must be aggressive legislation. In January the Postmaster General told the President that mail contracts appeared to have been illegally and improvidently awarded, and "that decided changes must be made in the administration of the subsidy." In March the President asked Congress for a new shipping measure, ending mail contracts and other abuses. In June the Senate Investigating Committee urged "immediate, candid, and courageous Congressional action," to end "the sad, miserable, corrupting failure" of present shipping laws which have "resulted in a saturnalia of waste, inefficiency, unearned exorbitant salaries, and bonuses." Nine days later the House passed the Bland bill, which ignored four of the specific recommendations of the President. The next day the Senate withdrew the companion Copeland bill, while word was awaited from the White House. That word has never come. When the President, a Senate investigating committee, and the Postmaster General, concur in excoriating an existing practice in the strongest language, the public has a right to expect action. In this instance, the President must take the lead. If he fails to do so he will be condoning what he himself has condemned.

TEACHERS OF CIVICS will have to revise their account of American government to give more importance to the conference between members of the Senate and House on bills which pass the two bodies in different forms. The banking bill was passed by the Senate without a record vote, the opposition being unable to rally its forces because of a gentleman's agreement to alter the bill in conference. The only hope of defeating the Clark amendment, vitiating the pensions provisions of the social-security bill, is to delete it in conference. This is government by committee, due to the impracticability of government by houses of Congress. It demonstrates the growing awkwardness of the bi-cameral system. Since the Senate does not care to come to grips over a banking bill, and since this bill has passed the House in another form, the Senate chooses to take its defeat in conference. Similarly, the Clark amendment raises issues which members of the Senate do not care to face openly, so they avoid them by leaving the solution to the conference. This would represent a true working of the bi-cameral system only if the Senate were serving wider interests, as representing the states, and the House narrower ones. But this original purpose is now a fiction, and the two houses have the same general outlook. To a great extent they are duplications of service, without one chamber serving in any sense as a check on the other. The forthright way of passing laws would be to let them be examined first in public hearing, be debated publicly in a single chamber, and finally be voted on in public. The present system is a weakening of democracy, since it makes necessary a withdrawal from the public for trades and arrangements. Attitudes toward measures which are awkward to explain can be hidden, and in the end the conference report can be adopted by both houses without the public knowing precisely what happened.

WHEN THE GENERAL STRIKE broke out in Terre Haute, Indiana, on the morning of July 22, it came as a complete surprise to newspaper readers all over the country, although it involved 20,000 people and was the logical climax of a battle that had been in progress for many months over issues vitally affecting all workers. What is more, we are informed on excellent authority that the general strike came as a shock to many of the townspeople of Terre Haute itself, thanks to the silence of the local press concerning developments which finally led to a strike of about one-third of the city's population. The explanation is simple and all too usual. Terre Haute is dominated by a

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chamber of commerce made up of employers, including, no doubt, the owners of its newspapers. Terre Haute wants new enterprises which in turn want cheap labor and the open shop. Naturally the newspapers play down labor "disturbances." Only a complete stoppage in the town's activities and the declaration of martial law forced the story onto the wires and into the nation's newspapers. The workers at the Columbia Enameling and Stamping Company have been trying for more than a year to put into effect the collective-bargaining provision of the NRA. After a strike last summer, the company, having agreed not to discriminate against the strikers and to arbitrate points in dispute, proceeded to discriminate and refused even to discuss the issue of the closed shop. In March the workers struck again. Until June 15, pickets walked up and down peacefully before the closed plant. There were no disturbances. On that day the company sent seven extra guards to the plant, and a "riot" developed. Subsequently fifty-eight guards were imported from Chicago and sent to the plant. The labor unions, faced with what seemed to be deliberate provocation, threatened and then declared a general strike. It was an amazing demonstration of labor solidarity, but as usual it furnished an excuse for calling out the national guard, tear-gas flowed freely, and the strikers are now thrown back on the mercy of government conciliators. And it is more than possible that Terre Haute will once more recede into editorial silence, while three-legged chickens and gurgling quintuplets occupy the best newspaper boxes. What is news anyway?

THE STATE OF ALABAMA is rapidly forging ahead in the race for the most vicious anti-labor and anti-"red" legislation in the union. One of the most dangerous of its reactionary laws is the so-called Downs law, a Birmingham city ordinance, passed late in 1934. It provides a fine of $100 and/or six months' imprisonment for anyone who "shall print, publish, edit, issue, or knowingly circulate, sell, distribute, or publicly display any book, paper, document, or written or printed matter in any form containing or advocating, advising or teaching the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force, violence, or any unlawful means, or shall have in possession more than one copy of any such book, paper, document, or written or printed matter in any form." All convictions under this law have thus far carried the maximum sentence of fine and imprisonment, and the nature of the cases presented indicates clearly that possession of more than one copy of any book or other publication in sympathy with the radical movement is *ipso facto* evidence of guilt. The National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners has sent an investigating committee to Birmingham, with the special purposes of examining convictions under the Downs law and of testing it in the higher courts.

MOST OF THE BATTLES for the preservation of academic freedom have been fought in the larger colleges and universities, but last month a struggle took place in the Municipal University of Omaha so tragic in its consequences that its chief victim might well become the first real American martyr in the conflict between the vested interests and the free mind. Dr. William E. Sealock, president of the university, committed suicide after being summarily dismissed—while he was out of town on university business—for daring to uphold a set of principles which he expressed thus: "I am determined to defend the fundamental freedom of discussion in educational institutions as one of the most cherished rights in a democratic government, without which the high purpose of education would be lost." Four years before he had been called from his post of dean of Teachers' College of the University of Nebraska to head the University of Omaha. He turned out to be far better than the Board of Regents had hoped. He cleaned out the dead wood in the faculty and replaced it with educators so competent that his institution became one of the bright spots of the West. Some of the professors took a liberal stand on several public questions and one or two of them even expressed doubts about the public service of utility-holding companies. This aroused the ire of the president of the Board of Regents, J. E. Davidson, who is also president of the Nebraska Power Company. Dr. Sealock courageously stood by his men, with the result that he and his faculty were denounced as rank communists and atheists. The university was "investigated," but so little of a "dangerous" nature was discovered that even the local Hearst paper, the Omaha *Bee-News*, was dubious of the entire proceedings. Then the Regents took advantage of Dr. Sealock's aforementioned absence from the city, suddenly found him lacking in "the desired executive ability," and fired him. Dr. Sealock's subsequent efforts to obtain an explanation were fruitless, and out of desperation he took poison.

TWO RECENT DEMONSTRATIONS seem to bring the citizens' airplane or "flying flivver" nearer to actuality. There is no concealing the fact that progress has been slow for though flying is nearly as old as automobiling it is still almost as completely an expert's job as it was twenty-five years ago. In part that may be because the whole emphasis has been upon extending the limits of what the most highly qualified expert in the most elaborate plane can do rather than upon the development of a machine for everyday use. But whatever the cause, the fact remains that little has been done to popularize flying in the past thirty-two years. Eighteen months ago the Bureau of Air Commerce undertook to sponsor the development of a "flivver" required to be "fool proof," to attain a speed of 100 miles per hour, and to be manufacturable at a cost sufficiently low to permit a purchase price of $700. According to Eugene L. Vidal, director of the bureau, more progress would have been made if an aviation lobby opposed to anything which would make planes less costly had not tied up a proposed $900,000 PWA appropriation, but a machine manufactured by the Hammond Aircraft Company and demonstrated lately at Detroit is said to have met all the specifications except for its failure quite to reach the required speed. According to Mr. Vidal its absolute refusal to stall removes the cause of 70 per cent of the fatal accidents occurring to amateur flyers. The demonstrator simulated the most dangerous of all mishaps by stopping the motor fifty feet from the ground during a take off and permitted the plane to land itself. He also, imitating a frightened operator, drove it into the ground without levelling off for a landing. In both cases, not only he but also the plane remained unharmed. There seems little doubt that only high cost and the need for expert operation stand in the way of the large-scale development of a civilian airplane.

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# "They'd Rather Live on Relief"

THERE is a growing propaganda to the effect that the unhappy millions in this country now living on relief are unwilling to take jobs. In part this is the new version of the old saw that anybody who really wants a job can get one. But it is also part of the offensive against a standard of living which, low as it is among many sections of our population, is still too high for employers who feel that the only way out of a depression is to tighten the other fellow's belt by cutting wages and lengthening hours.

Lieutenant General Robert Lee Bullard has asserted in the Hearst press, after a "nationwide survey of the relief situation" that "we have recognized in this country a new 'inalienable right'—the right of an individual to indefinite support at public expense and regardless of private employment available." "It indicates a breakdown," he continues, "in the primary characteristics of the American citizen—initiative, independence, self-reliance." Seventy-five per cent of those on relief, he concludes, are content to stay there.

Unfortunately such propaganda falls sweetly upon the ears of an Administration harried by the staggering cost of relief which shows no sign of abating for years to come; and the last two weeks have recorded an assault upon relief clients by both national and state governments that is calculated to yield a bumper crop of misery. On July 22 federal and state relief in South Dakota was stopped "until all farmers needing men to help with the harvest have been supplied with such help"; several other midwestern states adopted the same policy in somewhat less drastic form; and from Washington orders were issued to deny relief to anyone refusing employment.

We agree with General Bullard that living on relief is demoralizing—we agree so heartily that we look forward to the time when a collective economy will make the dole unnecessary. But it is clear that his "nationwide survey" was of the usual Hearst variety; and a few facts culled from local relief officials are enough to refute his libelous generalizations against millions of unemployed workers. He cites among others the example of the raspberry crop in Hammonton, New Jersey, part of which went to waste "because of lack of labor during the week in which a sales tax for support of the unemployed became effective." This in spite of the fact that the pay according to the growers was "about $2" a day, depending on the number of pints picked. But the testimony of Spurgeon Cross, director of the Atlantic County FERA, casts a somewhat different light on the situation. We quote from the New York *Herald Tribune:*

> Mr. Cross said that his office was ready to supply as much help as the growers needed but that the growers had been unwilling to pay the round-trip fare between Atlantic City and Hammonton, about eighty-five cents. Most of the pickers, he said, preferred to live at home, commuting each day. In past seasons pickers and their families have lived in shacks near the raspberry patches, five or six in a room, and have had to buy most of their own food. . . .

Aside from the red tape that must be cut to get back on the relief rolls once an unemployed person has taken a job, however temporary, we should find it difficult to reproach a worker who was either self-respecting (even though on relief) or moderately intelligent enough to refuse to take a job which might pay $2, if he were lucky, minus 85 cents for carfare. But $2 is far above even the official average wage for farm labor in the United States. According to data just issued by the Department of Agriculture, farm wages range from 70 cents a day in South Carolina to $2.55 in Massachusetts with an average of $1.41 for the whole country without board. As for working conditions and the factors which often reduce the day's wage let us examine the report of a relief official in the South who set out to discover just why people on relief had refused jobs. In this case it was the strawberry crop. For some reason there was little response to the demand for pickers, although the growers held out promises of transportation, food, and lodging, and $1.50 to $2 a day "clear money." We quote a few of the findings of the investigator.

> Transportation was indeed furnished, one way, to the fields. The dissatisfied, the cheated, and those who quit when the picking gave out, got back as best they could which in some cases meant walking thirty-five to forty miles empty-handed and empty-bellied. The good picker who could earn $1.50 to $2 per day "clear money" was not in evidence at any of the twenty-one farms surveyed. The standard rate was 1½ cents a quart of berries picked. Although two cents had been mentioned at the reemployment office as the rate offered on some farms, no defection upward from the norm was discoverable. . . . A grower's agent was quoted as saying that "a fair picker can pick between 100 and 150 quarts a day." At ten of the farms investigated the mean picking was forty to sixty quarts.

The "housing" promised by the growers consisted of old barns and shacks with as many as twenty people, old and young and of both sexes, crowded into a room of ordinary size. As for food its quality may be imagined—and often the pickers were cheated out of it. The report continues:

> The fancy promises of $1.50 to $2 a day "clear money" boiled down to exactly this on the first week's pay-off: twenty cents to one dollar for a work-week. The best exhibit of earning power was presented by a white family, father and mother and two children who had been shipped in by the relief authorities. The family of four netted $3.30 collectively for six days in the fields.

Finally we offer the testimony of a man who has been working in the harvest fields of Ohio for 15 cents an hour or $1.50 a day. He writes to *The Nation* as follows:

> The minimum wage paid for unskilled labor in the WRA is $44 for a month of 130 hours—32½ hours a week. Compare this with $36 for a month of 240 hours, about 60 hours a week, for making hay in the same locality. Lest anyone should say that the wages on relief work are too high, I quote a few prices in the village where I live while working in the harvest fields at $1.50 a day. No house here with a bathroom in it rents for less than $18 a month; most rents are $20 to $50 a month. Here are prices: 25 pounds of sugar $1.40; 1 loaf whole wheat bread $.11; 1 box matches, $.05; 2 small veal chops, $.15; 1 peck potatoes, $.29. Add to everything but bread a 3 per cent sales tax. How can a man support a family on $36 a month?

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# Moscow Offers an Olive Branch

BY progressive steps the USSR has been moving steadily into position as a world power, dealing with other powers on terms of equality through diplomatic measures of the accepted capitalistic variety aiming at its own security and political and economic advantage. Socialism within the Soviet Union, in the sense of the nation-wide development of state-owned industrial and agricultural enterprises, has grown by almost geometic progression. But international socialism, as directed from Moscow, has *pari passu* at every point in Russia's reorientation as a Great Power, moved into its eclipse. It is many years since the Foreign Office at Moscow issued its last magnificent theoretical denunciation of the imperialist tactics of the capitalist world. Chicherin's notes, once the joy and the terror of conventional diplomacy, were long ago replaced by the cautious jockeying-for-position of the typical foreign secretary. And with that change came the virtual extinction of the Communist International. The red-baiters of other lands might voice alarm over the menace of world revolution, but revolutionists knew that their international was sleeping if not dead—anesthetized by its leaders in Moscow. Loyal Stalinists, of course, defended the official Communist policy. The security of the socialist fatherland must come before all else; until that was finally established no other revolutionary effort could expect substantial support—not the death struggle of the workers in Germany, nor the valiant, hopeless stand of the revolutionists of Spain. With equal vehemence anti-Stalin revolutionary groups have opposed the "treason" of Moscow: its support of the League of Nations, its treaties with imperialist powers, its abandonment of the international program of revolutionary action. Stalin's government has remained scornfully unmoved, determined to build what defenses it could, no matter what the cost to world revolution, against the threat of attack from Japan on the east and from Germany on the west. Its diplomacy became the subtle instrument of national security instead of the mouthpiece of international communism.

The confusion which this policy spread among the revolutionary parties of the West cannot be exaggerated. Inevitably the movement, never united, degenerated still further into factional warfare. Attempts at united action against the common enemies—economic exploitation, imperialism, war, fascism—broke down in the face of the fratricidal bitterness generated on the left. In America, at least, nearly every united-front effort has been doomed by the expressed determination of the Communist Party to rule or ruin. For this reason the report of a new policy emanating from Moscow is of wide importance. The Communist International, meeting after an interval of six years, has promulgated a program of reconciliation with its enemies of the left, and has called for a united labor party of all groups in every country which oppose fascism. This is strategically a brilliant maneuver: it side-steps the world revolution, offers no threat to the non-fascist countries with which Russia has made agreements, and at the same time extends an olive branch to the left opposition groups which they may view with some suspicion but can hardly refuse. And if the policy proves successful, the USSR will have done more to strengthen its defenses than could be accomplished by a dozen mutual security pacts. But to recognize the self-interested motives behind the maneuver is by no means to oppose it or to minimize its importance.

The USSR is menaced by Nazi Germany; but all Europe and Asia and America are menaced by the economic and political barbarism that Nazi Germany exemplifies. In the political democracies of the West, the manifestations of fascism multiply wherever industrial tension offers an excuse for economic exploitation and political repression. Ironically enough, the revolutionary opponents of democracy are inevitably driven to its defense in order to keep intact any of the liberties which permit them to pursue their revolutionary ends. It may well be that the basic conflict of the next ten years will be not between capitalism and revolution but between fascism and democracy—a struggle in which the forces of revolution must support and win the support of all the friends of democracy, while the forces of capitalism will gradually, and often unwillingly, form an alliance with the cohorts of fascism.

We do not anticipate an immediate and happy reunion of the scattered hosts of freedom. The revolutionary lions and the liberal lambs will approach one another with gingerly steps and suspicious eyes and avoid the same bed as long as posible. But if they keep their attention fixed on the universal enemy, an honestly united front may emerge, based on the compelling logic of self-preservation. The hope of the world may depend upon the reality behind the pronouncement of the Third International at Moscow.

# Germany's Heavy Burden

THE decisive weight of the Reichswehr in German affairs has once more been revealed in the sudden decision to call off the campaign of persecution of Jews, Catholics, and steel helmets. General Werner von Blomberg himself modified the conditions for entry into the army, so that half-Jews can be received, or to cite the German stipulation, men with not more than two complete non-Aryan grandparents. And Hitler's Bavarian holiday was invaded by Von Blomberg and General Göring to appraise the effect of recent events on foreign, especially British, opinion. Now the more rabid of Hitler's supporters have been put in leash. But the relaxation of terror is no sign that the fundamental economic strain in Germany is lessening.

A few days ago the New York *Herald Tribune* commented on the difficulty of establishing the true financial status of a dictatorship. Dr. Schacht demonstrated the truth of the statement not long ago. At the suggestion of several important financiers in the British capital, the London *Economist* had made an effort to discover the real state of Germany's finances. In the course of the inquiry its investigators made the amazing discovery that the Reich had a secret debt of twenty-five billion marks over and above its officially acknowledged foreign obligations. This was a

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charge that had to be answered, for Germany's ability to obtain foreign credit is her vulnerable point. The *Economist,* Dr. Schacht declared, had been misinformed. Germany's secret debt amounted to not more than twenty-two billion marks.

Conservative experts estimate that the Reich is carrying unfunded internal loans of from seven to nine billion dollars, the larger part in short-term obligations. Reich Finance Minister Krosigk-Schwerin admits that the government has drawn "many millions" out of the reserve funds of the insurance companies and the cash reserves of the nation's savings banks, in exchange for its I. O. U's. How large a total sum has been confiscated in this way was not made known. A government which lays its hands on the savings of a nation without tangible security in the shape of gold reserves or other assets is no better than the fraudulent banker who borrows the deposits of his customers on his personal note. It is known that the government has been operating for months with forced loans from financiers, traders, and industrialists, amounting to two thousand million marks. The great trusts were assessed to the tune of $250,000,000 to finance Schacht's dumping program, but persons who should know are convinced that the money has long since been used for military expenditures. Between August and October, they say, will come a new raid on the nation's private resources. It is generally admitted that Dr. Schacht has been guilty of financial juggling of a high order. His business transactions with the Gold Discount Bank, says the London *Times,* are anything but ethical. They violate the very fundamentals of honest business dealing.

In the field of private business the outlook is just as discouraging. Living costs have gone up 6 per cent in the last four months. The total wage has been increased enormously as the result of the boom in the munitions industries, but the average wage of the unskilled worker is 18 per cent lower than it was four months ago. The fact that these industries employ more than the ordinary ratio of skilled labor kept the average wage from falling below the actual figure of 8½ per cent. Meanwhile manufacturers, both large and small, are making a determined effort to force still more drastic wage reductions.

This ruthless wage policy has produced disaffection such as Germany has not known since the inception of the Third Reich. There are well authenticated reports of wage movements in the Saxon textile areas and in the industrial sections of central Germany. The government, of course, has denied the stories. But the greater immediate danger lies in the growing unrest among the small business men whom both the public and the government accuse of profiteering. Housewives are resorting to consumers' strikes, while the authorities decree protective arrest for the victims of its irresponsible economic measures, alienating the sympathies of those who were once the Third Reich's most faithful supporters.

There are unmistakable signs of disintegration in the National Socialist regime. With the exception of the enormous Nazi bureaucracy there is hardly a group or class in the nation that is satisfied with the present state of affairs. Militarism is taking its heavy toll. Every man, woman, and child in the country is paying ten marks ($4) per month for "national defense" and no amount of financial manipulation can conceal this intolerable burden.

# Three Inches of Human Knowledge

THE Columbia University Press announces the publication of a one-volume encyclopedia, "compassing human knowledge in 5,000,000 words and three inches of shelf space." While we have not yet had the privilege of examining the volume the press release on its contents offers food for thought. President Nicholas Murray Butler is quoted in it as saying that "the contents are uncolored by the private judgment or opinion of individuals. . . . Facts are objectively presented and speak for themselves." If this is so, the *Columbia Encyclopedia* is unique in the world's literature, and will remain a literary curiosity long after its facts are out of date. But an examination of the announcement, devoted mostly to an enumeration of the amount of space given to various subjects, casts considerable doubt on President Butler's claim.

The longest biography in the encyclopedia is that of Julius Caesar, 2,800 words. If this seems to put the author of "all Gaul is divided into three parts" into an unduly prominent position, let us look further. Four other persons have biographies more than 1,500 words long. They are George Washington, Mary Queen of Scots, Lincoln, and Bismarck. Theodore Roosevelt gets 1,400 words and Bernard Shaw, 400; Napoleon, with 1,350, is only 200 ahead of Herbert Hoover—who, however, noses out his successor, the inventor of the New Deal, by 300. The German philosopher, Hegel, is allotted 1,380 words; Jesus Christ, however, rates only 1,200, 75 behind St. Paul. Mussolini, with 850, beats his rival dictator, Herr Hitler, by 100; Senator Hiram Johnson, with 400, is 50 ahead of Senator Borah. Raphael gets 1,450, but Michael Angelo only 900. Ralph Waldo Emerson is permitted 800; Marcel Proust draws but 300; Theodore Dreiser comes off badly with 170, but Sinclair Lewis, who made Main Street famous and coined a new word in "Babbitt," is at the bottom of the list with a paltry 150, only 20 ahead of Mary Pickford and not quite twice as many as Greta Garbo. Lenin manages to capture 1,050 words, but he trails former President Hoover by 50 at that, and he is 300 below Woodrow Wilson. Stalin, with 400, has twice as many as Edna St. Vincent Millay.

It may be, of course, that the words in some of the shorter articles are longer and more ponderous than in those which run to greater space. But it is hardly necessary to point out that, without even any conscious prejudice, the allocation of space to these subjects is not based on fact, as President Butler alleges, but on the exercise of "private judgment," if not of a single person then surely of the editorial board. The board also decided to include a "table of national parks and monuments," and one giving the "source, treatment, and symptoms of poisons." Dr. Clarke F. Ansley, editor-in-chief, is said to have conceived the idea of the one-volume encyclopedia "while raising horses as a hobby on a Michigan farm." The book, he declares, is designed to "give reliable elementary information in language as intelligible as that of a newspaper." This is, in all truth, a modest enough goal to aim at. Whether, in reaching it, credit will accrue to Columbia University remains to be seen.

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# Issues and Men

## Government by Gangsters

WHAT has just occurred in Germany bears out anew the London *Times's* comment after Hitler's bloody purge of June 30, 1934, that for the first time in history a great government was being run by gangsters and with gangster methods. Adequately to picture what is happening in Berlin one must visualize, if one can, Al Capone and a Dillinger in charge of the city of Chicago and running it as they saw fit. This is no exaggeration. There is vastly more blood upon the head of Adolph Hitler than on all the gunmen in the United States put together—he murdered fully 1,254 in the "purge" of last year alone. Now he has ordered the renewal of the attacks upon the Jews, the Catholics, and the Stahlhelm, and may be counted on to carry on the war against the Protestant clergy.

Whom has Hitler just placed in charge of the Berlin police? A man of high character, sworn to uphold the law, to keep order, to protect all classes in the community? Not at all. He has installed a notorious Jew-baiter, Count Wolf von Helldorf, who was himself in 1930 sentenced to six months' in jail for instigating anti-Jewish riots and taking a leading part in them. If this is the proper course of action, then Mayor LaGuardia is entitled to go to the Tombs to pick his next chief of police. This is serving notice upon all the Brown Shirts and police in Berlin that they will be protected however much they may maltreat or torture the Jews, men or women—for defending a woman from Brown Shirts an American naval cadet has found himself in jail. Naturally the Nazis have turned around and declared that the responsibility for all this rests upon the Jews—that their "provocative attitude" gave rise to this righteous outburst of mob violence against them. Men and women living in terror of their lives for the last two and one-half years deliberately invited mob indignities and violence! That is what the rest of the world is asked to believe.

If that is characteristic of a certain German mentality, so is the wholesale admission by Hitler that Germany is not united under him, by his again declaring war upon the Catholics and the Stahlhelm. The Concordat with the Vatican, so praised as proof of Hitler's and Göring's statesmanship, has all but gone by the board, the Vatican making protest after protest against its violation, and Hitler in turn demanding that the clergy subordinate itself to his state and to his orders under penalty of immediate arrest. As for the Stahlhelm, that association of officers who served in the war, how many times have we not been told that it had been *"gleichgeschaltet,"* that, especially in view of Hitler's rearming Germany, it was entirely in sympathy with the Nazis? Again and again we have had Hitler's assurance that the solidarity of Germany behind him was beyond question, and that all but a handful of malcontents were on his side. Now we know that that is far from the truth, and the fact is confirmed by a statement of Dr. Robert Ley, the Nazi dictator of labor, on July 22. There is "still a long road ahead," he said, before the last German "regardless of whether he be Protestant or Catholic" has been converted to Nazism, "only through which the German people can become eternal."

The way to bring that about of course is to beat up and imprison anyone who does not agree with you. That is the method that has notoriously succeeded during the world's history in converting people to one's beliefs. But of course the appointment of Count von Helldorf, and of Hans Kerrl, as Under Secretary of Church Affairs in the Reich Ministry of the Interior, is proof positive that the Nazi party itself is not unanimous. These men represent the radical wing and as such their appointment must be unpalatable to the more conservative side, and to those officials like Dr. Schacht, who know that every new outburst of intolerance and violence injures the German nation in every country outside of its borders. Finally, it is quite characteristic of Hitler that while these things are happening and all Germany, according to the dispatches before me, is in a state of tension and fear of another bloody purge, he himself has ducked and disappeared. He is reported on a yachting cruise in Norway, the significance of which will doubtless become clearer in the course of the next few days.

Profoundly grieved as I am at the renewed attacks upon the Jews, I rejoice heartily over these latest developments. They must open the eyes of those Americans who have just returned from Germany to tell us that all was harmony and union there; they must convince any open-minded person that the dictator has not yet had his way with all the German people; and they have certainly refreshed the memory of millions as to the gangster character of the Hitler government. Americans are thus reminded once more that because a dictator can make trains run on time, clean the streets, drive the beggars into hiding, and supply bread and circuses, it does not mean that there is either genuinely good government or happiness among the people. There is every evidence that in Germany as in Italy there is a steady sinking of the standard of living. The newspapers report the closing of one German factory after another. Is it surprising, therefore, that it has been decided to whip up the party loyalty by attacks upon the Jews and the Catholics? That is the oldest trick of the dictator. "When things are going badly with you, start something," runs the rule. Give your followers something to attack. If there is an enemy to concentrate upon at home, so much the better. If there is none, why there is always an Abyssinia available, there is always the sacred honor of the country to be avenged. Hitler's course is no different from the conventional one of the dictator. But when he attacks the Stahlhelm he plays with fire; it is closely allied with the Reichswehr and that organization, which can break Hitler overnight if it chooses, is well aware of what is going on.

Oswald Garrison Villard

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# Envoy Biddle, Faithless Trustee

By WILLIAM FRANCIS

WHEN Anthony J. Drexel Biddle, Jr., clubman, sportsman, and financier, sailed to take up his post as United States Minister to Norway, to which he had just been appointed, he carried the full confidence of James A. Farley, Frank C. Walker, and others high in Democratic Party councils who for a long time have felt that Mr. Biddle was eminently fitted to represent the American people in a diplomatic post.

Less implicit will be the faith reposed in the new envoy by the stockholders and creditors of the bankrupt Sonora Products Corporation, formerly known as the Acoustic Products Company, of which Mr. Biddle was a director. Their contention that Mr. Biddle and three of his associates in the Acoustic directorate betrayed their trust by appropriating a contract belonging to the company by diverting upwards of a million dollars in profits into their own pockets was upheld by Judge Swan in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in September, 1934. By this decision Mr. Biddle was held liable, jointly and severally with three of his fellow directors of Acoustic, to account for and reimburse the amount diverted.

Mr. Biddle was in Paris when the blow came, sojourning in the palatial Biddle *hotel particulier* in the Street of the Holy Fathers, but through his attorneys he twice applied to the United States Supreme Court for a review of the decision, which twice was denied him. Having exhausted every legal recourse, Mr. Biddle, using the latent diplomatic ability with which Messrs. Farley, Walker, et al., had long credited him, began negotiations upon his return to the United States in the spring of this year for a quiet, peaceful settlement of his million-dollar liability.

The creditors, knowing their debtor to be a member of the internationally wealthy and honorable Drexel-Biddle banking family, anticipated no difficulty. Further assurances as to Mr. Biddle's solvency lay in the fact that he had married successively into two of the greatest American fortunes, thus associating himself with the Duke tobacco and the Boyce Thompson mining millions.

Moreover at about this time there were intimations that Mr. Biddle's powerful political admirers were at last about to use the diplomatic talents which they knew him to possess. Some newspapers had him slated for a ministerial assignment to the Irish Free State; others for diplomatic service to Austria. In the *salons* of Paris, New York, Newport, and Washington the only question was whether Mr. Biddle was not to ornament an even more imposing capital than Dublin or Vienna. Wherever he went, "Tony" Biddle's friends knew he would do well and be a credit to his country.

All this looked rather cheerful to the attorneys representing the despoiled stockholders and creditors of bankrupt Sonora or Acoustic. It was patent that, after all, one couldn't be a minister plenipotentiary with a thing like this hanging over one's head. Under the circumstances what was a million dollars to the Boyce Thompson fortune? The creditors expected the settlement to be not only peaceful but prompt. But Mr. Biddle quickly disillusioned them, and before the matter finally was settled and signed he had suffered the indignity of being placed under a $100,000 bail bond. The whole trouble, Mr. Biddle said, was that he was not a rich man. On the contrary he represented himself as being entirely without assets. Nevertheless he could manage to offer $70,000 of which he could raise $25,000 in cash; for the balance he would give notes. He offered to prove his personal impecuniosity by submitting his finances to examination. Hearings which lasted for several days began in New York on April 24 before Harold P. Coffin, Referee in Bankruptcy, and the minutes make interesting reading in the light of Mr. Biddle's recent appointment.

Questioned by counsel for the trustee in bankruptcy for the Sonora concern, Mr. Biddle branded as false all accounts of his then-impending appointment to a diplomatic post. These persistent reports of his coming preferment, he insisted, were pure canards. But certain quiet rumors of Mr. Biddle's lavish contributions to Democratic Party funds were fully substantiated. Mr. Biddle confirmed the fact that, after the judgment had been found against him, he, in Paris, wrote and sent a check for $25,000 to Frank C. Walker, treasurer of the "Pre-Convention Roosevelt Campaign Deficit Fund." It was not made clear whether this fund had to do with the Roosevelt campaign of 1932 or the anticipated campaign of 1936.

At a subsequent session of the hearing Mr. Biddle, having "gone over his books," said he wished to add something to the record. He announced he had "discovered" another check made out to "Democratic Committee, George Earle for Governor." This check, also for $25,000, was to assist Mr. Earle in his campaign last fall for the governorship of Pennsylvania. Mr. Biddle said he had handed it to him in London as Mr. Earle was leaving for the boat that was to carry him back to America and victory in the Quaker State. On February 1, 1935, Mr. Biddle sent a check for $5,000 to James W. Gerard, former Ambassador to Germany and now chairman of the Finance Committee of the Democratic National Committee.

None other than Mr. Gerard himself represented Mr. Biddle in the negotiations preceding the final settlement and it was not necessary for the creditors' attorneys to point out to him that gifts made by his principal since the judgment were, under the law, recoverable for the creditors. Mr. Gerard required nothing to be pointed out. He offered, on behalf of his client, $160,000 cash in full settlement. This was accepted. The sum, while less than had been expected, did, as the attorneys for the creditors pointed out, represent more than the actual profits realized by Mr. Biddle in the deal, which were approximately $150,000. Mr. Gerard thought Mr. Biddle's offer a handsome one.

In a letter acknowledging receipt of the contribution of $5,000—which turned up at the hearing but as to the present whereabouts of which everyone seems a trifle uncertain—Mr. Gerard without doubt expressed even greater en-

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thusiasm for Mr. Biddle's generosity to the Democratic Party. Nor was he the only party chieftain to express his gratitude. Mr. Farley dropped his work at the Post Office long enough to write a glowing tribute to Mr. Biddle's altruism and Frank C. Walker, already preoccupied with the grave problems which he soon was to assume as head of the President's almost-five-billion-dollar works-relief program, took time out to write Mr. Biddle that he would take the first opportunity to bring such largesse to the attention of the Chief Executive.

All these letters have found sanctuary since the hearing at which they were produced. They were not read into the record although a few phrases from them crept into it. But a cable to Mr. Biddle in Paris from Mr. Earle, then campaigning in Pennsylvania, which was read at the hearing, reveals great depths of party gratitude. It said:

> State and national leaders tremendously appreciate your great generosity just when most needed stop Your unselfish help in this and your present efforts and influence may cause powerful *Sun-Telegraph* published by Hearst, edited by Walmer Jacoby, to support us. These may easily be determining factors in our campaign stop We will not forget what you have done and are doing
>
> GEORGE

Creditors' counsel, by the following line of inquiry, attempted to find out precisely who it was that would not forget:

> Q. When Governor Earle, or Mr. Earle, said to you in his cable "we will not forget what you have done and are doing," do I read it correctly as referring to the fact that the state and national leaders mentioned earlier in the cable will not forget?
>
> A. I really couldn't tell you.
>
> Q. Will you take a look at that cable [handing paper] and see if that also is your understanding?
>
> A. I couldn't tell you what he means.
>
> Q. Do you think Mr. Earle was assuming prematurely the gubernatorial "we" or was he referring to the state and national leaders who are first mentioned in his cable?
>
> A. I don't know.

Mr. Biddle made it clear, however, that no matter whence it came, all this gratitude was misplaced. It should have gone to his wife for, while he sent the checks and accepted the touching acknowledgments of the recipients, it really was Mrs. Biddle who supplied the money and asked him to make the gifts in her name. In fact, he said, at the time the earliest contribution went forward, he was and long had been a victim of that chronic financial embarrassment from which he was suffering at the time of Judge Swan's decision. Mr. Biddle declared he had owed $1,115,779.66 to his first wife, the former Mary Duke, at the time of their separation in 1931. By last autumn he was already very substantially indebted to the present Mrs. Biddle, was without income-producing investments, and had no means of paying his living expenses except as procured through her. With the exception of his desk and chair all the furniture in his $7,000-a-year office was her property. But he still belonged to twenty-three of the most exclusive and costly clubs in Europe and America. He was in debt and in no position to make political contributions. They all came from Mrs. Biddle who had him send them in his name "because she wanted to have it appear that way."

> Q. And I put it to you that the reason you and Mrs. Biddle wanted it to appear that way was in connection with some proposed or possible appointment which would come to you in the service of the United States Government.
>
> A. No, sir. I believe she wanted me, as her husband, to appear to be making the donation; it was simply a matter of wishing me to act in her behalf.
>
> Q. Have you since September 28, 1934, made any further contribution or contributions to Mr. Walker—to the fund about which I am inquiring?
>
> A. Not I; if my wife did I don't know.
>
> Q. You would not know whether she did or did not?
>
> A. No. . . .
>
> Q. Was there any discussion with Mr. Farley at any time since September 28, 1934, with respect to your appointment in connection with any post in the United States Government?
>
> A. When there was an erroneous report in the newspapers that I was going to be sent to one of the countries of Europe which was absolutely unfounded, I just mentioned I had seen it in a paper in the country to which I was reported to be going. I simply said, "It just shows how they get things wrong." He just laughed.
>
> Q. That was a conversation you had with Mr. Farley?
>
> A. Or words to that effect.
>
> Q. When approximately was that conversation?
>
> A. In the last two or three months. It was shortly after we came back here because I had been sent some clippings that I was going to this particular country. I had not heard anything about it. I cabled over here and said: "Will you please find out what it is all about?" After a week he wired me back, "You need not worry. There is nothing in it."

Before signing the written transcript of his testimony some time later Mr. Biddle desired to add to or amend some of his statements relating to Earle, Walker, and Farley. Supplementing his testimony as to Governor Earle, he said: "Mr. Earle wrote us a letter which I do not now have concerning several personal matters and mentioning the Roosevelt pre-convention deficit and suggesting that we might want to help out as he felt that Roosevelt stood between us and revolution." Adding to his statement concerning conversations with Mr. Walker, Mr. Biddle said: "Mr. Walker has said to me that he hoped that some day I would go into the diplomatic service as he thought I was qualified for it."

Amending his testimony relating to Mr. Farley, Mr. Biddle made it clear that it was another friend and not Mr. Farley who wired, in response to his cable, telling him not to worry as there was "nothing to it." He remembered that Mr. Farley once had said to him: "I would like to see you have a post."

In Trustee's Exhibits Numbers 35 and 36, which were letters from Mr. Walker and Mr. Farley and which are not now on file in the referee's office, certain other letters from Democratic high places were referred to but neither Mr. Biddle nor his $7,500-a-year secretary had been able to find them.

The case which Judge Swan found against Mr. Biddle

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and three of his former associates involved what the court referred to as their dereliction as directors of the Acoustic Company. Judge Woolsey, of the United States District Court, before whom the original trial took place in June, 1932, absolved Biddle and his codefendants of the charge of conspiracy and disloyalty to their company. He found they had acted in good faith and exonerated them from any liability. The Court of Appeals, speaking through Judge Swan, affirmed Judge Woolsey's decision as to all of the defendants except Biddle, two other directors of Acoustic, and an agent who later became a director. Each of these he held to be jointly and severally liable to account for and reimburse the creditors for the amount diverted.

The case had to do with the appropriation by these men of certain contract rights owned by the Acoustic Company. Chartered in 1927 to deal in phonographs, radios, and similar apparatus, this concern, in 1928, desired to acquire rights to manufacture under basic patents in the radio field. The DeForest Radio Company, then in bankruptcy, possessed such rights and the Acoustic Company opened negotiations with W. R. Reynolds and Company, which controlled the DeForest situation under a contract by which it expected to purchase 600,000 shares of DeForest stock at fifty cents a share, lift the receivership, and reorganize the DeForest Company. Conducted in part by Mr. Biddle, these negotiations were successful in obtaining for Acoustic from Reynolds a contract whereby Acoustic would be allowed to purchase 200,000 DeForest shares for $100,000 cash, have four of the nine places on the reorganized DeForest board, and "handle the managing, operating, and selling" of DeForest products.

Acoustic accepted this contract and instructed its president, Percy L. Deutsch, to endeavor to obtain the $100,000 by which Acoustic might carry out its contractual obligations when the time came for payment. That was on April 9, 1928. A few days later Mr. Deutsch, who at the time owed Acoustic $125,000 on an overdue note secured by collateral, reported his inability to procure the necessary $100,000 for the company and announced that "several individuals were desirous of accepting said proposition on their own behalf" and were willing to extend to Acoustic the benefits contemplated by the acquisition of the stock. Six weeks later Mr. Biddle told Reynolds that Acoustic was not able to raise the money and asked if there were any objection to dealing directly with him and several of his fellow directors.

"Tony," said Mr. Reynolds, "as long as you are in it and handling it, if you prefer it that way, there is certainly no objection as far as I am concerned."

Both lower and higher courts absolved Mr. Reynolds of the charge of conspiracy and justified his action in selling the stock to Biddle and his group when informed that Acoustic could not take it up. Reynolds was not bound to protect Acoustic's rights; the directors of that company were.

Partial payment for the 200,000 shares was made on April 24 by personal checks drawn by Biddle, Deutsch, and Harris Hammond, the son of John Hays Hammond, and also a director of the Acoustic Company. The receipt for such payment was made out to Acoustic. On May 24, following the conversation between Biddle and Reynolds, the balance was paid and the shares issued to Biddle, Deutsch, Hammond, Victor C. Bell, another Acoustic director, and two other members of the Biddle syndicate.

Possessed of the shares, the syndicate, acting with Reynolds, proceeded, says the Court, "to create an active market for DeForest stock on the Curb Exchange," and "made large profits in selling their shares." The proceeding and the manner of its execution provides a classic example of stock-rigging technique. From something less than $2 a share DeForest was boosted to around $30. When the members of the Biddle syndicate, on May 24, took over their 200,000 shares on the Acoustic contract at fifty cents a share, the stock, in anticipation of the reorganization, was selling in the open market at from $11 to $13.75. By that time Mr. Biddle already had made money in DeForest and on the day he took over 50,000 shares from Acoustic at fifty cents each (that amount being his portion under the syndicate agreement) he was buying 3,000 more shares on the Curb at $12 each. The stock was manipulated over a period of eighteen months and shares which cost Mr. Biddle's syndicate a total of $52,875 realized for its members aggregate profits of $1,795,299. Then the stock languished, sinking to nothingness when, after years had passed, the company still had not produced a single radio.

The position of the creditors was that these profits rightfully belonged to the Acoustic Company inasmuch as the contract which made them possible was the property of the company and could have been taken up by it had an honest effort been made by the directors to enable it to do so.

Judge Swan, in his decision, declared that "no efforts appear to have been made after April 9 to raise for Acoustic the $100,000 required." Neither was there any attempt, he found, to collect the overdue Deutsch note or to realize on the collateral behind it. "Moreover," he adds, "Acoustic did have substantial banking accommodations on June 6 and if these had been made available a few weeks earlier it would have been able to perform its contract with Reynolds and Company."

Even had it not been able to do so there still would have been no justification for the appropriation of the contract by Mr. Biddle and his associates in the group, according to the Court. Judge Swan denied that such a circumstance ever gave directors of a company the right to appropriate company property. He said:

> If the directors are uncertain whether the corporation can make the necessary outlays, they need not embark it upon the venture; if they do, they may not substitute themselves for the corporation any place along the line and divert possible benefits into their own pockets.

This judicial censure of Mr. Biddle and his guilty associates was made in September of last year. It has been published in the official law reports and the records in the case have long been open to public inspection. Despite this fact, official Washington evidently has taken no cognizance of Mr. Biddle's illegal adventure. The fact that he was held by a federal court to have diverted to his own use property of which he was a trustee was no bar to his appointment by the President to a high diplomatic post. It was no bar to the confirmation of that appointment by the United States Senate. At the very outset of his career, the new Minister to Norway has achieved a notable diplomatic victory.

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# The New Machado in Cuba

By CARLETON BEALS

EIGHTEEN months ago, one balmy Cuban twilight in winter, Colonel Fulgencio Batista—then "the First Chief of the Revolution," now the dictator of Cuba—took me to the annual San Lázaro festival in El Rincón. The roads were filled with careening auto buses and jammed with folk on foot—a river of them, women in bright dresses, men in white—a strange conglomeration of races: Spanish, Negro, Chinese, West and East Indian. The air was filled with the long murmur of gabbling people, the reports of exploding rockets, the faint strains of distant music.

Some blocks away from the little church, we descended from the car and walked unguarded through the dense crowds. The first to recognize Batista was a one-legged peddler, who suddenly uttered a shriek of delight, hopped frantically toward us, spilling his tray of cigarettes, and threw his arms around him. "My Colonel!" he shouted in joyous excitement. Next, an aged Negress, her white hair in curl papers, flung her arms about him. Everybody surged in upon us, from beggars to well-dressed folk; all wished to embrace him, shake his hand, at least touch his sleeve. "Viva Batista!" echoed along the atrium. "At last we shall have justice!"

Batista arrived at the church portals disheveled, laughing, his black eyes shining. The priest hurried forward to greet him. Through a side exit we escaped to the San Lázaro leper hospital. The nuns came fluttering into the parlors with expressions of surprise and curiosity. Over the wine and cake, one of them, frankly enthusiastic for the new revolutionary Grau government, told how during the odious Machado regime she had smuggled propaganda under her skirts to the hospital inmates and had collected money to overthrow the tyranny.

A great throng of people waited for us at the hospital door. Batista's guard, now on hand to open a lane for us, unceremoniously pushed aside a poor guitarist and his little girl of about thirteen, who were singing *coplas*. Batista reprimanded them sharply. She was a pert little creature, beautiful despite her rags, and had a melodious voice. She improvised verses about Batista:

> The man who smokes a big cigar . . .
> He came to El Rincón
> On the day of San Lázaro
> Because he loves the poor. . . .

For fully twenty minutes Batista remained listening. Several times his aides reminded him it was late. Impatiently he motioned them to be silent. Perhaps he was thinking of his own struggle for success; how at about the age of this little girl, he had been cast, an orphan, out on the streets to earn his bread. All the way back during the hour and half ride to Havana, he was silent and became animated again only briefly before he left me at my hotel on the Plaza Central at nine-thirty.

Batista's rise to power has been meteoric. Twenty-five years ago he was a boy in school in an American Quaker missionary establishment in Oriente. A little over twenty years ago, he was an orphan of thirteen adrift in the wide world to struggle or starve. Fifteen years ago he was a day worker in the cane fields, receiving a mere pittance. He has worked at every type of menial labor on the island; port-worker, railway hand, tailor's assistant, mechanic, what not. Five years ago he was court-martial stenographer with the rank of sergeant. Until less than two years ago, he took orders in that capacity; today he gives orders to the whole country.

Batista is no longer the "First Chief of the Revolution," but more than ever he is the first chief of the army, head of the largest, best-equipped, best-paid military machine in the history of Cuba, with absolute power over every phase of Cuba's life. He is now the maker and breaker of presidents.

I have spent days and nights with him. I have seen him beside his cannon and in drawing-rooms; I have heard him harangue his soldiers in mess-halls and speak smiling meaningless formulae at diplomatic gatherings. By his side I have struggled through adoring mobs of people, and I have talked with him quietly in his home and office. With sub-machine guns, I have shot cocoanuts off trees with him. At 4 a. m. Christmas morning, 1933, he borrowed my fountain pen to sign the release of more than 300 political and military prisoners. I have been with him at jolly parties and once was present at Sans Souci when the society folk of Havana snubbed him and his wife by leaving en masse; and I saw the grim hate behind his smile, suaver than usual. Today, eighteen months later, those who took him to Sans Souci are in jail or in hiding and the good society folk are fawning at his feet.

One would have to travel to the Far East to find a similar combination of oily courtesy, intellectual keenness, insight into men, devious astuteness, ruthless purposefulness, and extreme cruelty. Recently I talked with him in his new castle-like residence in Camp Colombia on the outskirts of Havana. As he leaned back luxuriously in his leather-carved chair behind his desk in a room lined with finely bound unread books, while his glance roamed reminiscently out the open French window to the sunlight bathing his garden, I analyzed the features of this man who had come up from the dregs to impose his will and now seeks to surround himself with gentility.

He is a racial blend (not a mixture) of all that is Cuban—white, Negro, Indian, and Oriental. It is impossible to tell exactly where one race ends and the other begins, they are so completely fused. He has the stocky build, broad features, and high cheek-bones of the Indian. His black straight smooth hair gives him a hawk-like quality. His skin has the yellowish tinge of the Oriental; he has the flat nose and dextrous, white-palmed hands of the Negro; but the carriage and bearing of the white. His glance is unique. It has the naive but dominating boldness of the Nordic, the craftiness and sinuosity of the Oriental, the liquid gentleness of the Indian, and the soft fantasy and cringing servility of the Negro slave. Yet his glance is

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also complete in itself—unified—that of the perfect breed, of a man master of himself and others, with no warring inner complexes, no regrets, no compunctions. In all the varied situations in which I have seen him, he was always the same whatever his superficial manners—quick-witted, good-humored, exquisitely courteous but forceful, calm but decided, ready to act but never hasty, smooth never brusque.

One day at four-thirty Batista sent his car to bring me to Camp Colombia. This presidio is pleasantly situated on high ground with barracks and officers' homes surrounding an extensive grass quadrangle where now frequently Ambassador Jefferson Caffery and Batista go riding together. But in 1933 Batista was supporting the Grau San Martín government which Sumner Welles was bent on destroying and did destroy.

Batista took me over the camp and, in the enlisted men's club, showed me where the sergeants' conspiracy had been hatched that culminated in the coup d'etat of September 4, 1933, which overthrew Welles's puppet De Cespedes government, eliminated the Machado officers Welles had protected, and seated the Grau government in power.

On that occasion Batista assumed control without shedding a drop of blood. Two weeks earlier in the original overthrow of Machado, he had not moved or risked anything. Now he merely took advantage of subsequent uncertainties to insure, not to Cuba as a whole but to the army, the proper benefits. He was promptly hailed as "the Savior" of Cuba. I wrote an article about him then—and tore it up. I had a presentiment he would betray the hopes of Cuba.

Soon after the installation of the Grau government, I sat at Batista's right at a luncheon under the garden trees at the home of Sergio Carbó, a newspaperman and liberator, now hiding from his wrath. This was Batista's first relaxation from purely official duties during nearly four months of stress. He had worked on occasions twenty-eight hours at a stretch. But he revealed not the slightest signs of fatigue. During this period, he had formed a government and dislodged the former revolting Machado officers from the National Hotel, the first bombardment of a skyscraper in history; he had suppressed the Atarés Castle revolt, though all Havana police stations had been seized by the rebels and Camp Colombia and the palace were both bombarded by airplanes; he suppressed two serious rebellions in the interior and dislodged workers' soviets from hundreds of sugar estates, mines, and factories, in some cases after prolonged battle. He had to suppress conspiracy in his own forces. He acted as arbiter in many strikes, often sitting through all-night sessions. Besides multiple political duties he had to reorganize the whole army.

Batista has gotten where he has through no lack of energy, audacity, and ability. But the strain has at last told. When I saw him several months ago, he remarked, "I have been ill, seriously ill. The freshness is gone. When I wake in the mornings now, I can scarcely drag myself from bed." But he is a man whose will is still greater than any physical debility.

Despite the almost accidental aspect of the blow of September 4, Batista declared it had tremendous national significance as a continuation of Cuba's uncompleted struggle for independence. The Grau government, he averred, was the first government of truly Cuban origin in Cuba's history.

"We demand the right to run our own affairs, the right of every free nation. We are not communists, we are hardly socialists, we merely want to liberate Cuba from foreign control. We do not wish to frighten capital, we need capital."

"Cuba has had more American capital than any other country in the world except Canada," I remarked. "Yet it has brought only misery to your people."

"Yes, we must raise living standards," he replied. "That will also benefit the United States. Cuba was once one of America's best customers."

But Batista is no economist, no sociologist. He shows himself completely naive about modern social tendencies. Armored in the military psychology, despite his long years of poverty he is utterly vague about the manner in which the rights of the people, of which he constantly talks, are to be established and maintained. For a time he reveled in popular admiration. He seemed to like the common touch. He addressed great mass-meetings stretching from the palace clear to the harbor Malecón. But presently he called all this "dangerous demagogy." He drew into his shell. Now he talks only to the army and scarcely leaves Camp Colombia, and then, under heavy guard, only to visit Ambassador Caffery or give a machine-gun banquet in the National Hotel to American financial potentates. Such as these helped him to betray the Grau government, and his own efforts to become a popular leader were frozen. Having done nothing to gain further popular support, having betrayed what support he did have and the government he had sworn to uphold, having bowed completely to the behests of Welles and Caffery, he has ended by using his power to destroy all rights.

Batista's type, that of the Latin American *caudillo* or military chieftain, who leaps from the dregs to whip up a powerful personal and military following to conquer the state, has long commanded the curious attention of novelists and psychologists, but of few sociologists. The Batistas are a sociological phenomenon resulting from militarism, political corruption, race and cultural conflicts, feudal colonialism, imperialism. Depending for victory on desperate rebellion rather than prior mass organization, such ambitious types, however noble their expressed purposes, have invariably failed because the day after their success, not having the wit, ability, or patience to create mass following, they have found their only sure support in machine-guns. The gulf between literate and illiterate, between countryside and urban life, is so vast that popular leaders have usually soon been weaned away from dangerous alliances with the people they promised to help and promptly have become the petty tools of feudal aristocrats, foreign capitalists, and American pro-consuls, thus rapidly converting themselves into hated tyrants against whom new revolutions inevitably have been started. This is what has happened to Batista, except that owing to the gravity of the economic crisis in Cuba, he has forsaken his liberating role more quickly and ruthlessly than is customary.

If today he is idolized by much of the army, otherwise he is the most hated man in Cuba next to Caffery. The Mendieta government, resulting from his treachery, which was set up as a government acceptable to the United States if not to the Cuban people, is today the narrowest, most unpopular clique that has ever governed Cuba, narrower by far than that of Machado. Every political expression of Young Cuba has been routed, the leaders jailed, exiled, murdered.

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Antonio Guiteras, the one truly noble figure in all these struggles, went down before Batista's machine-guns on the lonely Matanzas coast.

The Batista-Mendieta government, drained by mounting military costs, has moved on from arbitrary decree to more arbitrary decree, from brutality to greater brutality. Cuba is ruled by the firing squad, by drum-head courts-martial; it is estimated that more than 4,000 persons are crowded in ancient castle prisons, swept by epidemics. To be a member of any but a few pseudo-company unions is punishable by two years imprisonment; to strike is punishable by death. Education has gone by the boards. Over half the working population of the island has been unemployed for years. In March 500,000 persons, representing two-thirds of the population, swept into a general mass strike of protest, which was suppressed by force.

Batista still insists that he believes in democracy, but "vile politics" makes only dictatorship—good dictatorship—possible. And so he rides the storm from day to day, while Sumner Welles periodically brands American journalists who tell the truth as unprincipled and tells the American public (usually on the eve of some new scandal) that all is well in the cemetery known as Cuba.

Batista conceives himself as the strong man, the man of destiny. He is merely a symbol of betrayal, of the tragic weakness of the Cuban people, who are worse off than their forebears under Spanish rule, a symbol of the hypocrisy of Roosevelt's New Deal in Latin America.

# The Busy Utility Companies

By FRED WOLTMAN

THE Associated Gas and Electric Company showed a genius for propaganda technique long before the Senate Lobby Investigating Committee caught it the other day destroying records of its fight against the "death sentence" in the holding-company bill.

The Federal Trade Commission's files contain a mass of provocative (and often amusing) private correspondence illustrating its methods. There was, for instance, the Dushore, Pennsylvania, editor who ran a boiler-plate editorial attacking former Governor Pinchot's anti-utility stand. Apparently he never edited it, for following the editorial he printed the informative line, "From Associated Gas and Electric system, Publicity Department, Johnstown, Pa."

Warren Partridge, management executive of Associated, wrote a sharp note to the Johnstown representative. "Will you please let me know why this note appears on this clipping? It appears to me to be rather questionable policy in view of the agitation against utility-company propaganda."

"This editorial," the explanation said, "was furnished to about sixty-three newspapers in our territory and this is the only one that published by whom furnished. This is the first time any of the papers have added to our news items or publications the fact that it was received from our company."

Instructions were given not to send any more editorials for the present.

Again, the Associated Gas and Electric's securities division published a bearish advertisement in Pennsylvania papers. The purpose, according to the commission's examiner, was to induce debenture holders to exchange their bonds for other securities, a frequent practice of Associated.

"Associated operating companies in New York State," it warned, "alone have had their rates reduced by $1,300,000 this year. Reduced rates mean reduced income. Demand for emergency rate reductions is widespread."

Forthwith, H. C. Hopson, directing genius of A.G.E., was notified that the Pennsylvania operating companies were worried by "the prominence given to the large amount of rate reduction in New York alone."

"The Pennsylvania operators believe that this statement will tend to spur on the efforts to reduce rates in Pennsylvania and perhaps have some effect upon the Public Service Commission itself when it is publicly stated that such a very large reduction has been made in one of the neighboring states."

"Please look into this," Mr. Hopson wrote Dr. Daniel Starch, his brother-in-law, former Harvard professor and head of Associated's advertising agency.

"We will be careful not to mention the large amount of rate reductions in New York State" in future Pennsylvania advertising, Dr. Starch was assured after he looked into it.

An inter-office memo from S. J. Magee, vice president, on proposed bills in the New York legislature, said:

> There are certain of these bills that to my mind are very bad and we should do all we can to prevent their passage. . . .
>
> In connection with IX this takes in our Long Island Water Corporation and Mr. Atkin, I think, has discussed this fully with you and the advisability of employing a local attorney to help in getting this bill killed.
>
> III is a very foolish bill, and I cannot conceive of it being passed. Inasmuch as it covers subway and elevated companies, no doubt they will see to it that this bill is defeated.
>
> VIII is a very foolish and unnecessary bill and we should do all we can to kill it. A bill of this kind has been in the legislature practically every year for many years and has never got anywhere.
>
> I do not think we are interested in X at all. XI is a bad bill but I assume the large railway operating companies will see that it gets nowhere.
>
> XII, putting omnibus companies under the Public Service Commission, seems to me would be a good bill. Mr. Stephens, who introduced it in the Assembly, lives in our Brewster area and I know him quite well.
>
> XIII, bringing water companies under the P. S. C., might not be so bad if we had a good commission but under the present one I feel we should oppose this bill.

J. H. Pardee, president of the Utility Management Corporation, Associated management affiliate, wrote Dr. Starch concerning a visit with Alexander Dow of the Detroit Edison Company:

> Mr. Dow told me that his letters carried in the press

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of Detroit had an appreciable repressing effect on the press of Detroit and that the local papers in the surrounding territory rather rallied to his support. Russell of Rochester is putting out similar letters.

The files contain an article from *World's Work* by Philip Cabot, professor of public-utility management at Harvard, pointing out that few, if any industries have ever equalled the service given the consumer by the electric utilities. It bestows high praise on the holding company without which electricity would have been denied in all but large cities for a generation.

"For the next six months the red flag of Power," according to an editorial comment introducing the article, "will be waved before the eyes of 40,000,000 voters. The leading impartial authority here states the case as the record reveals it. On this record of actual achievement the power companies must be judged."

Two months before its publication, as an inter-office memorandum in the Federal Trade Commission files indicates, galley proofs of Professor Cabot's article were submitted to Dr. Starch and Mr. Hopson.

"Dr. Starch thought it was a very good article," the memorandum read. "But he was in doubt as to how it might be used."

Dr. Starch, the files show, has had a verbal working arrangement, but no written contracts, with Associated since 1923.

The files also contain the following news release from Associated Gas and Electric headquarters at 61 Broadway:

> It is believed that those who are interested in the public welfare will undoubtedly turn their attention before long to making certain that governmental authorities, instead of constantly pressing for rate reductions, will speed up their machinery for authorizing security issues so that the light-and-power industry, freed from unwarranted and generally unpopular attacks, will be able to go ahead and carry out plans for increased construction and development of its business with the direct resulting help to business in general and to the unemployment problem in particular.

# Corruption, Sacred and Profane

By RAYMOND GRAM SWING

*Washington, July 29*

THE woman pays. Dr. Amy N. Stannard, who knows psychiatry and nothing whatever about the Virgin Islands, now finds it her destiny to pay the price for peace in those islands by resigning from the Federal Parole Board to make way for Judge T. Webber Wilson. Dr. Stannard resigned in the midst of acclaim for her excellent services. No charge was or could be raised against her, other than that she is a woman. Attorney-General Cummings suggests that a woman is not suitable for parole work. Only 4.3 per cent of the prisoners eligible for parole are women, he says, and personal interviews have to be held with thousands of men. "A request for Dr. Stannard's resignation has been under consideration for a year," he added. But he did not finish that particular story. A year ago several Democrats looked longingly on Dr. Stannard's job and took steps to get it. The word came back to them that Dr. Stannard, as the only psychiatrist on the board, was indispensable. Now it is discovered that a woman should not hear certain kinds of evidence. That is to say, she is (or ought to be) embarrassed by such evidence and a man need not be. But Dr. Stannard is a psychiatrist and is no more embarrassed by such evidence than a male doctor is by childbirth. Embarrassment is not at issue in her removal, except in quite another form. Senator Pat Harrion would be embarrassed if a nice job were not found for his fellow-Mississippian and protege, ex-Congressman Wilson.

The "settlement" of the Virgin Islands quarrel thus proves to be worse than the quarrel. The President, quite the Solomon, undertook to end it by transferring both Governor Paul Pearson and Judge Wilson to other government work. He wrote almost identical letters to them, thanking them for their services, and stating that nothing had been brought out in the Senate inquiry to reflect on their integrity. (Evidence against the Judge had not yet been heard.) Probably it looked like a happy way out to the President. He can't afford to affront Pat Harrison, since one of his continuing problems in life is to stay on good terms with that rugged reactionary, and keep him mollified enough to sponsor Administration measures in the Senate which he really doesn't like. So Secretary Ickes creates a job for Governor Pearson in PWA housing and Attorney General Cummings looks about among the recipients of his personal patronage for a vacancy for Harrison's friend. He lights upon Dr. Stannard. He kicks her out and appoints Judge Wilson to her place. He may have sighed at the hardships of Providence, for he has boasted that politics do not play a role on the Federal Parole Board, and has criticized the state boards where it does. But if he sighed there is no public record of it. In a way it was a happy solution, since appointment to the parole board is not subject to confirmation by the Senate. That makes Judge Wilson secure in his job, no matter how much outcry is raised. He will be as secure as the Attorney General is deaf. The moral of the story (so far) is that a woman is not safe in the government service; not even if she has performed invaluable work of an expert nature not supplied by the men with whom she is working. A politically appointed judge who has made himself nationally ridiculous can be put in her place. And there is no democratic way to prevent this double miscarriage of justice.

But the Virgin Islands "settlement" turns out to be no settlement, not even at this egregious price. The President named Lawrence Cramer, governor of St. Croix, to succeed Governor Pearson. This is a good choice, for Cramer, a teacher of government for five years at Columbia, is the kind of man who in an orderly civil service might have reached St. Croix and been promoted to the governorship when a vacancy occurred. But at once Senator Tydings goes gunning for Cramer, whose appointment is subject to Senate confirmation. He does so with a most

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absurd inversion of common sense—by releasing to the press the fact that two persons once wrote a book on nudism and in a foreword expressed personal appreciation to Cramer. Now Cramer is no nudist; neither is Senator Tydings an Al Smith, with a minor phobia about nudism. He is a politician carrying on a feud with Secretary Ickes. The appointment of Cramer, since it is non-political, becomes a victory for Ickes, and Tydings wants the Interior Department to lose the Virgin Islands altogether. His idea of the perfect governor is an admiral. The President has stood by Ickes to the extent of appointing Cramer, so Tydings also is willing to fight the President. He is no New Dealer, this author of the sedition bill. The inquiry is not over, despite the "wisdom of Solomon." Tydings will draw up a bill of particulars, he is bound to create at least some political vacancies in the Virgin Islands for deserving Democrats to fill. And he intends to sweep away Cramer as well as Pearson.

All this makes enough bad news for one week from the nation's capital. But it is only part of a disturbing record. The lobby investigation has now established that over a million dollars was spent by the utilities to fight the holding-company bill. This, too, is only a beginning. The committee became involved in the Patton case, one of those episodes in which witnesses were overcome by loss of memory. Congressman Patton, a rustic orator from Texas, came away from the hotel room of John W. Carpenter, president of the Texas Power and Light Company, with a small box wrapped in newspapers. Carpenter didn't recall anything about it. Again and again he failed to remember it. Then his memory was prompted and he recognized the parcel as a box of cigars given to Patton by his son. Patton voluntarily appeared before the committee with what purported to be the selfsame parcel, only it was two parcels, one box of cigars and some books. Nothing could have been staged more effectively to demonstrate absolute innocence. Patton, however, was succeeded on the stand by a man who he thought was an intimate friend, and the committee learned that Patton, out of a salary of $3,100, in a few months had saved $3,000 to buy bonds. And this witness told of Patton's nephew saying of the contents of the box, "Hell, those weren't cigars." Patton came back to the stand, pale and upset. He explained that he had collected $300 for mileage, and had brought $600 in cash to Washington, and out of this he had lived. And there the matter rested over the week-end, the committee waiting to hear the nephew (who denied in an interview the statement attributed to him) and to study Congressman Patton's personal accounts. Whatever is revealed, the committee will get back soon to the main story of the utilities. For the episode of Congressman Brewster of Maine is more characteristic of the methods of the utilities than anything that happened between Mr. Carpenter and the Congressman from Texas. Congressman Brewster switched his vote on the death sentence because he was afraid that if he didn't he wouldn't be reelected. That is the general picture; the utilities can control local elections, hence they don't need to make a general practice of giving away small boxes wrapped in newspapers. The influence of the utilities in local politics, moreover, is like the influence of other businesses. The lobby investigation perhaps cannot spread to such dimensions as to show voters that it is at their own doors that they first give away their democratic powers, not in Washington.

The lobby inquiry was spectacular but not more so than the hearing of Frank E. Speicher by the House Military Affairs Committee, as to the activities of Joseph Silverman, in the matter of truck contracts with the army. The technique of a Senate inquiry is diffuse and confusing, and the evidence is hard to follow and sift. But here was a man who testified that he had been told by Silverman that "he had the Assistant Secretary of War's office in the bag —in his back pocket, and if he bent over it would pop out." Silverman had on his pay-roll Ralph T. O'Neil, former national commander of the American Legion, said Speicher; this was the way he controlled the office of the Assistant Secretary of War. Speicher is an inner-tube maker, who wanted to make a contract with Chevrolet. "Silverman told me," he testified, "that if I didn't go along with his idea of doing business he would give me a piece of my own throat [indicated by drawing a finger across his throat]. He meant he would cut my throat in the Assistant Secretary of War's office. He said, 'Close your hands, now open them. What have you got? Nothing. Well, that's what you'll get.'" And Speicher told of a conference with Frederick H. Payne, former Assistant Secretary of War, at the Mayfair Hotel where Payne told the General Motors' representative: "I know Joe [Silverman]—you'd better put him on the pay-roll. He can be of aid to you." It is unnecessary to go into the long story of the deal whereby Silverman was going to get General Motors a half-share of a $10,000,000 truck contract, and collect a 7½ per cent commission. General Motors pulled out and the deal fell through. What is important is the evidence about "fixings" in Washington, which parallels revelations before the munitions committee about destroyer and other naval contracts.

One wonders what effect such revelations will have on the general public. Only the briefest compressions get into the smaller newspapers, and probably few readers take the trouble to absorb and digest the longer accounts in the larger dailies. But the aroma of this evidence spreads and soon pervades the country. This can have good or harmful results, good if the public gathers its forces to protect itself; bad if it grows hopeless about politics, and condemns the whole Washington set-up as generally corrupt. Wherever democracy has fallen this aroma of corruption spread first, and made people believe that honest government was impossible under the democratic system. If there is no strong reform leadership, with the promise of thorough housecleaning, America too may lose faith in its institutions. But the President, if he is going to clean house, will have to use his broom in the offices of his own friends first of all. He should reinstate Dr. Stannard, rebuke Attorney General Cummings, disregard the political debts of Pat Harrison, and do battle with the patronage system headed by Jim Farley. The line between sacred and profane corruption is hard to draw. For the President to determine to clean the stables would take real courage, and he is a man who would rather get some results out of manipulating an evil system than destroy the system at a political loss. The danger is that one day everything he has achieved may be swept away along with the evils he has condoned, and even worse evils befall the country.

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# Correspondence

## The Fargo Cases

To the Editors of The Nation:

As attorney in the Fargo cases for the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, the organization put in charge of these cases by the Fargo Drivers' Union, I want to correct certain points in Samuel Paul Puner's article on the Fargo cases (Gas Sunday, *The Nation,* July 3), one of which is about to be appealed to the Supreme Court of North Dakota.

Mr. Puner writes that all the ninety-five strikers arrested in the riot case were dismissed except those who picketed at the river. Mr. Puner must have misunderstood the statement made to him by the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, for three of those admittedly not present were convicted.

Your readers may be interested to know how a verdict of guilty was possible. In North Dakota the jury for a criminal case is selected from a venire of 200, who are hand-picked, 120 by the county commissioners and 80 by the city commissioners. Out of the venire of 200, a panel of 40 is drawn, from which the defense is permitted to select the 12 jurymen. As a result many who had been deputized during the strike and others connected with the employers turned up on the jury.

I believe Mr. Puner failed to point out the real importance of the cases. An appeal is being made because in North Dakota and throughout the Northwest there is a general conviction among workers, and also among the members of the Farmers' Non-Partisan League, that it must be decided once for all whether or not the Associated Industries is to be permitted to intervene in every strike and discourage unionization. The Fargo drivers have been on the picket line since January 22, 1935, and are determined to stay out until they win the right to organize. This is one of the longest strikes the Northwest has ever seen.

Money is urgently needed to carry the Fargo cases to victory. Contributions should be sent to the national office of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense, 22 East Seventeenth Street, New York.

*Chicago, July 2* Francis Heisler

## India's Poverty

To the Editors of The Nation:

India's present extreme poverty will be increased by changing the government to a federation. The plan voted by the British Parliament gives the people no real powers of self-rule, but it sets up complicated and costly machinery, including five Second Chambers in British India and many new salaried posts. Winston Churchill, who objects to giving India even a shadow of self-rule, made one sound argument against the new plan. He pointed out that it would involve a great increase of expense, and said that the Indian people could not at present bear a large increase of taxation.

In his book, "The Government of India," Ramsay MacDonald says of the tax: "The habit of the government has been to exact from the cultivator the uttermost farthing, over and above a standard of life that is far too low." Since that was written, the taxes have gone up and up; and now they are to be raised again.

The situation was explained by Miss Madeleine Slade, a British Admiral's daughter, who for the past nine years has been Gandhi's disciple. In an address in Boston she said:

When the British came, India was a country with immense wealth and a healthy peasantry. Of its 350,000,000 people, three-fourths are agricultural; but in India agriculture cannot be carried on during the whole year. The people need a subsidiary occupation to follow during the months when it is impossible to work in the fields. From time immemorial this occupation had been the making of cloth. India made all the cloth for its own wearing and sold large quantities abroad. What they gained by agriculture, added to what they earned by cloth-making, enabled the people to live in simple comfort.

In order to make of India a great market for British cloth, the British government deliberately destroyed India's own cloth-making industry. You can read in the history books how it was done. Since then the peasant cultivators who make up the bulk of the population have been unemployed during part of the year. They have grown poorer and poorer, until they are chronically half-starved, and have become so enfeebled that the average length of life has dropped to twenty-three and a half years. In India the average income is twopence a day; and to get even that average you have to include the incomes of all the millionaires. There is terrible child mortality. You have been told various fairy tales to account for this, but the great reason is poverty. There is an appalling contrast between India as she was and as she is; and the change has all come about in 150 years, under British rule. England's whole wealth and prosperity are built up on the blood of India.

I know whereof I speak. My father was the naval com-

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mander-in-chief. We lived in Bombay in great pomp. I saw the enormously top-heavy Indian civil service, the most extravagant and costly in the world. I saw the Viceroy living like a mighty emperor. Since then, for nine years, I have lived among the poor and have seen the destitution of the starving peasants, by whom all that pomp and luxury must be paid for. I have known the inside of life in India—both sides of it.

Gandhi, by making it a patriotic fashion to wear homespun and setting the Indians to spin the yarn for it, which always finds a ready sale, has lifted many thousands of Indian families out of the lowest depths of poverty and enabled them to get a little more food. His present effort to revive some of the old village handicrafts is an extension of the same principle.

*Boston, Mass., March 6* ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

## Cotton Pickers on Strike

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATION:

The July Executive Committee meeting of the Share Croppers Union decided to call a strike of the cotton pickers in central Alabama in August for the following demands: $1 per 100 pounds for picking cotton, $1 a day for 10 hours work on the farm plus room and board for monthly help and plus 2 meals and transportation for temporary help. In order to spread this strike movement of the cotton pickers the Share Croppers Union has appealed to the Southern Tenant Farmers Union and the Alabama Farmers Union to unite in calling and conducting the strike.

The reader may wonder why it is necessary to strike for a measly one dollar a day and why the Negro and white farm workers, croppers, and tenants are willing to face lynch terror and persecution to carry through a strike. The answer lies in the poverty-stricken conditions of these toilers, unequaled perhaps in any other section of the United States. They slave from before sun-up until after sun-down, driven constantly by mean, gun-toting plantation bosses under a broiling sun at back-breaking toil for the magnificent sum of 35 to 60 cents a day. High prices under the AAA have made the problem of squeezing out a mere existence worse than ever. Landlord-controlled relief stations refuse relief to the majority of the workers and poor farmers, while others are forced off relief to accept jobs at the afore-mentioned wages.

In order to carry out this strike effectively a strike relief fund is very necessary. At the wages paid to the farm workers it is impossible to raise an adequate strike relief fund. Landlord-controlled relief stations refuse government relief to strikers. For these reasons we are appealing to all readers of *The Nation* to contribute to the Cotton Pickers Strike Relief Fund as generously as possible.

The Share Croppers Union conducted a cotton-choppers strike this spring, involving about 1,500 choppers, and succeeded in winning the $1 a day demand on about 35 plantations. During this strike a Negro I. L. D. organizer, J. W. Foster, was murdered by a gang of sheriffs and landlords in Dallas County, some twenty strikers were arrested and beaten, two white and one Negro union organizers were arrested and turned over to landlord gangs that "took them for a ride" and left them in the swamps brutally beaten. In spite of this terror the strikers went on to victory. In several places, when the strike was on the verge of success, the choppers were driven back to work through starvation. The relief fund was too small.

The strike will begin about the first week in August, depending on the ripening crop, and will spread to the various farming areas as bolls break into bloom. It will continue until the season is over. An accounting of the relief fund will be submitted for publication in *The Nation* upon request.

*Montgomery, Ala., July 25* ALBERT JACKSON


# This book tells Husbands and Wives *what they would like to tell* each other...

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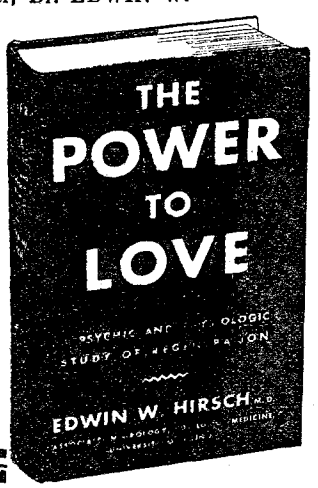


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# Labor and Industry

## Can Hotels Pay 18 Cents an Hour?

By ELINORE MOREHOUSE HERRICK

FOR the first time in its history the hotel industry, which somehow has always succeeded in escaping all regulation of working conditions, has been brought face to face with the New York State labor law via the minimum-wage bill passed in 1933. If we are to judge by the mute testimony of the statute books, the hotel industry has been served at Albany by an exceptionally effective lobby. For thirty years this industry has succeeded in blocking legislation that would "encroach upon the rights and liberties of American citizens." Despite its unusually advanced social legislation in other fields New York State has been unable to do more for workers in hotels than to require seats in elevators for the operator (if not found in the elevators they are certainly in the statute books) and limit hours of female operation to fifty-four a week. While women in factories are limited as to their hours of labor and may not work more than six days a week, in hotels "the sky is the limit" and the law permits women in hotel employment to work seven days a week. Restaurant workers, if they are women, must cease their labor at 10 p.m. So a noted restaurant proprietor in an upstate city maintains a part of his building as a hotel. That stratagem enables him to employ women workers unlimited hours in his restaurant which is the major part of his business.

The success of the hotel industry in defeating all adverse legislation is written into the record of amendments and exceptions to the New York labor law. Somewhere in every statute regulating working conditions in other industries there will be found the words: "This section shall not apply to hotels." When New Jersey passed a bill identical with the New York minimum-wage law, an amendment was written in specifically exempting hotels in deference to the Boardwalk interests of "the World's Greatest Playground." Of the sixteen states having minimum wage laws only California, North Dakota, Oregon, Washington, and Wisconsin have minimum wages for the hotel industry.

The NRA succeeded in bringing hotels under a code. That was their first experience with regulation. Many an employer had never charged his workers for uniforms, meals, and other deductions allowed under the NRA code. After the promulgation of the NRA codes for the restaurant and hotel industries, however, there was inaugurated a practice of deductions which lent itself to wide abuse. The allowable charges in the codes were 25 cents per meal and $2.50 per week's lodging. The New York Minimum Wage Board reports that "in some instances the food and accommodations supplied to workers are so unsavory and inadequate as to suggest that the purported deduction of charges is in fact a disguised form of wage-cutting. In other cases, employees maintain that they have been charged for meals that were not furnished and for lodgings that were not desired and were never used."

In the past the hotel men have lobbied quietly, but now the fight is open. Last May the New York Industrial Commissioner convened a special wage board to recommend minimum wages for women and minors in hotels and restaurants. The three representatives of the industry were Francis Gorman, manager of the Hotel Astor, vice-president of the New York State Hotel Association, George R. LeSauvage, assistant to the president of Frank G. Shattuck and Company (Schrafft's), and Charles A. Laube, president of the National Restaurant Association and director of the Buffalo Restaurant Association.

Their first move was to protest the Commissioner's choice of Miss Dorothy Kenyon as chairman of the wage board. She is an officer of the Consumers' League of New York, which has long fought for legislation protecting women workers in hotels. In the interest of harmony Miss Kenyon withdrew and Mr. Max Meyer, formerly chairman of the code authority for the millinery industry and member of the Industrial Council of the New York State Department of Labor, took her place.

After seven weeks of intensive deliberations and study of the 942 pages of statistical data gathered by the Minimum Wage Division of the state during the past winter, the wage board made these recommendations:

18 cents an hour to table-service waitresses
27 cents an hour to non-service food workers
30 cents an hour to lodging workers (chambermaids, etc.)
$10 a week to resident employees

Though the public and the labor representatives were unanimously in favor of this wage scale, all three employer members of the board refused to sign the report. The following week the press stated that the industry was going to campaign vigorously to prevent the adoption of these wages.

There is a widespread belief among those who have worked for labor laws in New York State that the hotel industry is making this fight not so much because of its inability to pay 18 cents an hour but because it is determined to defeat any kind of state regulation and regards the minimum wage as but an entering wedge to ultimate control of hours and other matters equally important to the well-being of the workers. The restaurant industry which similarly evaded regulation for many years finally became subject to the "night-work law" which limits hours to fifty-four a week and restricts them to the period between 6 a.m. and 10 p.m. When the present wage law was before the legislature in 1933 the restaurants, hoping to regain the lost ground, joined the fight against the bill.

On March 16, 1933, the New York *World-Telegram* carried a story of how the waitresses in the Schrafft stores (Mr. LeSauvage, assistant to the president of Schrafft's, is on the present wage board) had been required to write three letters each to Senator George R. Fearon, Republican leader, Speaker McGinnies, and Assemblyman Russell G. Dunmore, protesting the passage of the minimum-wage bill. Supervisors stood over them as they wrote with pen, ink, paper, and envelopes furnished them in their work places. The letters, unsealed, were turned over to the supervisors and then all mailed at the same time at the same postal station.

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When interviewed by a reporter for the *World-Telegram*, Mr. John Shattuck, vice-president of the company, stated "we would be in favor of a minimum wage for women" and he insisted that the letter campaign must have been the work of one of the minor executives of the company and was not authorized by the company.

Despite Mr. Shattuck's statement in favor of a minimum wage Mr. LeSauvage now refuses to sign the wage board's report. Is it because 18 cents an hour and the other rates proposed are too high? Can the industry not afford to pay even 18 cents an hour?

The hotel and restaurant business ranks fourth in the list of industries employing women in the State of New York. The sum of $451,097,842 was spent for meals served in hotels, restaurants, drug stores, cafeterias, and lunch counters in this state in 1929, according to the United States Census. Granting that some of us "pulled in our belts" during the succeeding years, the food-service industry in New York in 1935 must still represent "important money," although current figures are not available.

The challenge the public must now meet is whether the 60,000 women and minors employed in hotels and restaurants in New York State are to remain forever without protection such as that granted to other workers throughout the state under our labor laws?

The Department of Labor's statistical study reveals that the median daily rates of women in hotels and restaurants is at present only $1.64. Over half the women earn less than 27 cents an hour. Weekly earnings of 8,875 women in restaurants reveal a median of $8.08. Wages of waitresses in hotels, taken separately, show a median of $5.29 a week, while the median weekly wage of chambermaids "living out" is $10.65. One-third of the waitresses in hotels and restaurants work a "split trick"—an economy device which forces women to remain away from home for long daily hours while they are on duty and paid for far shorter hours.

We the public are apt to delude ourselves with the notion that waitresses make "big money" in tips. During the Washington hearings on the hotel code the Deputy Administrator asked "Are not tips paid?" The industry spokesman replied: "They used to get tips but there are few tips paid these days." Eighty-nine per cent of the waitresses reporting to the New York Department of Labor say they get tips. The women in other branches are less favored for more than half of all those employed in hotels and restaurants get *no* tips. Waitresses average weekly tips of $6.90.

If you add $6.90 to the wages for the median work week of 43 hours at 18 cents the average waitress will receive a total of $14.64—bare subsistence for even the unmarried woman. But reports of the Federal Women's Bureau have shown that the vast majority of women workers, whether single or married, contribute to the support of others.

This wage of $14.64 is less than the $16 minimum wage decreed in California, but in California, the $16 wage is greatly decreased by arbitrary deductions which the law permits. A waitress in a large hotel in the midwest recently stated that she got 72 cents in her weekly pay envelope after all deductions had been made. At the code hearings a waitress testified that she was paid 50 cents a meal for four hours of work. She furnished and laundered her own uniform and paid her busboy. That cost her 50 cents. Her cash wage remaining was exactly nothing. This waitress "lived" on her tips.

The wages suggested by the New York wage board may not be considered adequate from the social standpoint. However, in recommending that no deductions from weekly earnings be allowed, the board has performed an invaluable service to the 60,000 women and has set an important precedent for the four states that have set wages for this industry. The board's report states:

> The system of deductions has led to unfair application by the unscrupulous. As was the practice prior to the codes, the cost of services to employees should be recognized as an element in the fixing of the hourly rates of cash pay, and no deductions from that rate should be countenanced, in order to end any possibility of extortion. . . . A heavy drain upon an employee's earnings is occasioned by charges or expenses for uniforms and other equipment. The style and quality of the equipment are usually prescribed by the employer; there is little standardization, changes in interior decoration may involve replacement by an employee of all equipment theretofore procured; shifts of employment may necessitate discarding old equipment in order to comply with the requirements of the new employer; time and money spent in maintaining the equipment are disproportionate to the benefits received by the employee. The furnishing, repair, and laundering or cleaning of uniforms are properly to be regarded as operating expenses of the industries. They should not be charged, either directly or indirectly, against employees.

While 18 cents an hour nevertheless will seem to many persons unconscionably low, elimination of all deductions will add materially to the cash wage now received. In the light of the practice of the industry throughout the country the New York wage board has given impetus to an important reform in this business.

Public hearings will be held by the Industrial Commissioner throughout the state, beginning August 5 in New York City. These will afford an opportunity to all groups to make known their views on the wage board's report. A state-wide committee of over one hundred social and civic organizations has been formed to present at these hearings the viewpoint of those who regard the suggested wages as only a small first step toward better conditions for the more than 60,000 women and minors in these industries. If the public has learned one lesson during the depression it is that the difference between wages and what it costs to live is paid by the public out of relief tax monies. Why should the hotel and restaurant industry be subsidized by public relief to its employees?

It is recognized that in the hotel and restaurant business some employers now meet and even exceed these recommended minimum standards. There is a larger number who, pleading poverty, say they can not meet such modest requirements. This is the ever recurrent argument in any effort to improve working conditions no matter what the industry. We cannot allow ourselves to be diverted from our main objective which must be to see a decent minimum pay established even at the cost of driving out of business those of the 19,000 establishments which can not meet what, in the mature and considered judgment of the wage board and the Industrial Commissioner, seems the lowest wage tolerable under modern conditions.

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# "Every Man A Penny"

By HEYWOOD BROUN

"ANYBODY who won't work ought to be thrown off relief." Some of the many who make this remark do not really understand what they are saying. But others do only too well. The most serious threat to the so-called living standards of America comes from the harvest fields of the states which have decreed that those who do not sign up to reap and bind the grain shall be cast into outer darkness like the chaff which is destroyed.

And all this is done on the plea that here and there a labor shortage exists. Unfortunately figures seem to show that the cry of the boss farmers is largely exaggerated and that's a pity for if there is one thing this country needs desperately it is a labor shortage. In the fearful warfare of man against the machine which goes on in every land of private ownership even the most temporary sort of labor shortage is like a little armistice, a lull in the bombardment. But those who do not think sharply and those who do are proposing that the barrage must not be lifted even for a second. Of course even the harshest in council employ the phrase "physically able" but the test of ability is not likely to be rigid when the machines are calling for the reserves of man power. We will strew the fields with dead men if we say "Up and at 'em" to the broken armies of the idle. And in an even larger sense the talk of forced labor constitutes a tragic betrayal. If this system is to be followed the instant any slack comes in the labor supply it will work as a constant source of gravity to pull down all wages. The government will find itself in the position of operating a coolie employment agency.

I know what I'm talking about because I have seen this very thing work out in circumstances which were much smaller but still large enough to constitute a laboratory experiment. In the winter of 1930 I was associated with a free employment agency. With a somewhat pitiful optimism a group of us had come together to urge the creation of temporary jobs and since we campaigned through the newspapers we used a slogan. It turned out to be ironical. It was "'Give a Job Till June."

In justice to even the most naive of us, which may very well have been myself, we did not actually think that all suffering and privation would stop the instant summer came along. We did, I must confess, have some belief that the crisis in which the country found itself might prove to be temporary. Our organization got some jobs. We had on our lists of applicants some five or six thousand names. Out of these we managed to get a few days' work for approximately twelve hundred. Very rarely somebody was fitted into something of a semi-permanent nature. Our prize prodigy worked for almost five years. She was fired only a few months ago. And so although we didn't do much good it was not our intention to do any harm. Quite unwittingly we did. One branch of our service was maintained in a small office near the Little Church Around the Corner. The church had a breadline that winter and we were trying to snatch potentially useful workers out of that unlikely source. To this end we listed everybody who would come to our office and set down what his training had been and what his capacities might be. Very soon people began to help and in a fairly large way. "I'll take my whole crew from you," the owner of a lunch-room chain promised and kept his word. Men would drop around and say in a friendly way, "If you have any furniture polishers on your list, I can use ten or twelve."

I was beginning to be very excited about this seeming success of ours until one day the man in charge of the branch came around to see me. His name was Ross and he was studying economics. "I should have known it from the beginning," he told me, "but do you know precisely what you're doing with this Give a Job Till June campaign?"

"Well, whether you know it or not," Mr. Ross explained, "you're the head of a cut-rate labor agency. These people come around and say 'Have you got a furniture polisher'? But if I find them one they always offer him pay well below the scale. I don't think it's my right to refuse to tell anybody on our list when a job is offered but I must say the most courageous thing I've ever seen in my life is the action of those who refuse to join up at bargain rates. And they're not just thinking of themselves. They've said to me, 'Why if I took it at that pay I'd just be cutting the throat of everybody else on the job. I guess I'll starve a little longer.' But I don't think it's right for us to be tempting people like that."

And so we closed the office and ended the campaign. The thing was insidious. Nobody could approach abjectly unemployed people without thinking in terms of bargains. This was the basement store along the labor front. I hired a press agent for the Give a Job campaign. He got just about half of what the job rated. You see he was a newspaper man who happened to be hard up. I'm not blaming myself. I was spending other people's contributions and naturally we wanted to keep the overhead down but the whole thing was poisoned at the source by the fact that we paid our own employees less than a standard wage. And today I think relief workers ought to be adequately compensated. Once you start cutting it will go on all along the line.

Far from forcing men off relief into ill-paid temporary jobs the government ought to make it difficult to pry labor loose from its lists. It should welcome any labor shortage and sit tight until the pressure is sufficient to insure good pay before it consents to give an honorable discharge to any member of the army of the unemployed. Uncle Sam had to step in because the buying power of the masses had shrunk to panic proportions because of the wage cuts of the employers. I haven't got space to go into the old egg-and-chicken discussion. At any rate everybody agrees that without a proper widespread purchasing power our present economic set-up can't even stagger along. The government of municipality or state or nation is behaving in the most stupid way possible if it permits, much less orders, anybody to get off relief merely to walk around the block and then come home to roost again.

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# "Just Paddle 'em Down the Road!"

By RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

*Portland, July 17*

OREGON was one of the first states to pass an anti-injunction law. It also has statutes insuring labor the right to picket. In recent weeks these acts of the legislature have been nullified by the effective collaboration of the executive and judicial branches of the governmen. To protect themselves against police "meddling," striking lumber workers at Forest Grove and Bridal Veil leased tracts of ground near the mills on which to make their headquarters. They felt this would buttress them against the charge of trespassing. However, they reckoned without the fact that so small a matter as legal procedure is of no concern to Governor Charles H. Martin, a retired major-general and the most bristling upholder of "law and order" in the history of the state. The governor ordered the sheriffs of Multnomah and Washington counties to arrest pickets, the law permitting picketing notwithstanding. As fast as one group of pickets was seized, another caught up the fallen banners. Finally 237 men had been arrested and the jails were full. No charges were lodged and even now suits are pending for false imprisonment. The workers' unwillingness to accept his illegal acts as final drove Martin into a rage. His anger was intensified when his legal advisors informed him there were no direct charges on which the men could be booked. "No more arrests," he bellowed, "Just paddle 'em down the road!"

The Oregon state police, thus ordered by the governor to commit mayhem, hauled the workers off land which they had leased, and which was legally their own, and prodded them down the highway. Witnesses later testified that the men were lolling lazily in the shade when these brutal seizures took place, and that there was no indication of any violence whatsoever. The pickets were compelled to jog nine miles in slightly more than an hour, with the police flailing them from behind. Automobiles paced the trotting column, and the troopers jumped on the running-boards when they became tired. However, the workers—many of them middle-aged and old men—were forced to run in the midday sun until several collapsed in the dust.

Some of the men thus manhandled and abused later required hospital care; others in court submitted their flagellated and bruised backs as evidence of the "paddling" activities of the governor's constabulary. The excuses given for this wholesale denial to the workers of the legal right to picket were of the flimsiest sort: A truck had been overturned by parties unknown twenty miles from one of the mills; lumber-owners charged pickets were planning to cut a power line (this later was modified to read telephone wire). None of these contentions was proved, but Governor Martin accepted them willingly as justification for official violence.

To decide the issue once and for all the workers applied for an injunction restraining peace officers from interference with men on the picket line. The opinion handed down by Circuit Judge Crawford was a masterpiece of circumvention: "Did the sheriff exercise reasonable discretion in stopping these picketing activities? In my opinion he did . . . because of local apprehension over the display of force by numbers and fears of disorder . . . perhaps no disorder would have resulted had the sheriff failed to act; on the other hand, much violence might have occurred."

Thus by judicial decision the Oregon laws prohibiting labor injunctions and permitting picketing have virtually been repealed. On the witness stand before Judge Crawford one of the sheriff's deputies said he had not known that the land on which the strikers were stationed was their own. Asked if this would have made any difference in his conduct, he replied "No." His reply prompted K. C. Tanner, labor attorney, to suggest that peace officers in Oregon had not only nullified the laws of the state but also the common law of England and the United States Constitution.

Governor Martin's willingness not only to cheer for the employers, but also to join their team, has united labor against him in Oregon. In a bristling address at a military cantonment in Washington, Martin openly boasted of having put those "fellows" in their places. It was reported that Martin flew into a rage at Portland because employers did not move in and immediately open the mills. Martin also was highly indignant when one mill-operator, H. B. Van Duzer, submitted an agreement which would have resulted in union control of his plant.

Van Duzer's fellow-employers charged him with selling out because of having political ambitions. Van Duzer's eminently fair offer put other employers definitely on the spot and they looked to the governor for further assistance. He did not fail them. Again assuming the function of the legislature, he proclaimed that only "regular employees" would be permitted to picket lumber mills; the attorney-general of the state joined in the glorious grab for law-making power by saying that picketing would be allowed only where there is a "dispute between employers and workers." Of course, sheriffs and state troopers will decide who are "regular employees" and where "disputes" exist.

The workers' opportunities for success in the lumber strike have been greatly jeopardized in the two states by the brutalities countenanced and even urged by Governor Martin of Oregon and Governor Clarence D. Martin of Washington. Both are chiefly concerned with breaking the strike at all costs. The lumber war is of more importance than meets the eye. For nearly a generation the vicious company-union domination of the old 4-Ls (Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen) has held down revolt against low wages, long hours, and perilous working conditions. Success in the current strike would break forever the hold of the 4-Ls.

The state convention of the Washington Federation of Labor last week condemned Clarence D. Martin as not being qualified to occupy the office he now holds. Numerous public groups in Oregon have demanded the recall of Charles H. Martin. It is possible that such moves may be instituted in both states. Kelley Loe, veteran labor writer, has pointed out that the strategy of the governor's supporters in Oregon has been to gain control of the Townsend old-age pension organization, a tremendously powerful factor in the state. Loe has charged that through the lavish expenditure of money secret supporters of the governor and his policies have annexed fifty or sixty thousand old people as a buffer against any real mass movement which might spring up.

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# Books and Films

## Spivak, Star Reporter

*America Faces the Barricades.* By John L. Spivak. Covici-Friede. $2.50.

JACK SPIVAK was once a star reporter for Hearst and Macfadden newspapers. He is now a star reporter for the *Daily Worker* and the *New Masses.* In the past he practiced his craft to make a living. Like scores of other competent and instinctively decent journalists, he despised his employers and held his nose with one set of fingers while he typed with the other set. A good fellow and one of the ablest reporters in America, he was forced inevitably to choose between coming a prosperous, second-string Arthur Brisbane and a broke and more or less blacklisted radical free lance.

To his credit, he chose the second alternative, and the journalism produced after he turned his talents to the service of the radical cause is, of course, infinitely better than anything he ever did before. Both in quality and quantity, his contribution, from "Georgia Nigger" through much of his writing for the *Daily Worker* and the *New Masses* to the present book, commands a good deal of respect and admiration.

But Spivak, who had always fought with his low-lived capitalistic bosses, didn't get on any too well with the bosses of the *Daily Worker.* In the early days, at least, he was an "individualist," even something of a prima donna. Since he was getting paid little or nothing for his work, he felt, not unreasonably, that he ought at least to have the fun of writing a straight story and seeing it in print. I am betraying no confidence when I recall that he sometimes resisted the customary mayhem perpetrated upon the correspondence of "politically undeveloped" writers, just as he had howled when Hearst or Macfadden editors tried to make a monkey out of him.

Does Spivak still resist? I wonder, because "America Faces the Barricades" is not wholly a straight story. Three-quarters of it is straight and some of it, for example the opening Letter to the President, is Spivak at his best—a Macfadden sob story in reverse English, so cleanly and skilfully executed that it becomes not a sob story at all, but good literature as well as superb propaganda. Equally good is the rich, first-hand documentation of what business men and workers say, how they think and feel, the blind, half-timorous, half-violent ways in which they act; also the sensational expose of Nazi and native pre-fascist activities.

Spivak calls his book a "survey." It isn't—no one-man reporting trip could possibly be anything of the sort. The best of it represents a skilful sampling of the witches' brew being stirred in a score of hot spots around the country. The worst of it represents a misrepresentation of the facts with respect to two major labor struggles: the strike of the Toledo Autolite workers and the strike of the Minneapolis truck drivers in the spring and summer of 1934.

Spivak may have typed the passages in his book dealing with those strikes, but I am confident that his boss dictated them. His boss is the Communist Party of America, and Spivak is a loyal fellow traveler. I think he should have stated his position frankly, so that his readers might be prepared to see Spivak, when he steers into the cross currents of factional revolutionary politics, stop writing like a competent reporter and begin writing like a Communist Party functionary.

Beginning on page 270 Spivak devotes about four pages to the Toledo strike, which he describes as a rank-and-file revolt led by Communists. Was Spivak in Toledo? The militant leadership of the strike was exercised both directly and indirectly by members of the Workers Party, including A. J. Muste and Louis Budenz, Sam Pollack and Ted Selander, who led the picket lines. The role of the Communists in this strike was negligible as every informed person in Toledo—including the bosses and the capitalist newspapers—knows very well. But Spivak, a trained newspaperman, ignores and misrepresents the facts as blandly as did the *Daily Worker* and the *New Masses.* Writing of the Minneapolis strike, Spivak says:

> The leaders called themselves Communists. Actually, they are Trotzkyists. They were not the kind of labor leaders who would sell out to employers for a stated sum as other union leaders have done, but they had only a hazy notion of the function of a "labor" governor in a capitalist state, and consequently led their followers to a victory which was really a defeat.

He concludes his account with the following paragraph:

> The "labor" governor was faced with surrendering to labor and using the armed forces of the state to protect the workers or surrendering to capital and using the same forces to break the strike. He made the decision which today is inevitable and which marks the end of pretenses to "liberalism" in future labor wars.

The first passage quoted is obviously sectarian opinion and should have been stated as such, since Spivak is addressing a general audience. The second is historically untrue. Local 574 won a settlement substantially conforming to its demands. The wavering Farmer-Labor Governor, Olson, was under continuous pressure from the "counter-revolutionary" Trotzkyists, who had opposed from the first the bringing in of the troops. Aside from his personal sympathies, which were with the strikers rather than with the bosses, he was afraid to go beyond a certain point in using the troops for the realistic reason that he needed the Twin City labor vote in the fall election.

In questioning Spivak's facts I should warn the reader that while I am not a member of any party, or subject to any form of party discipline, my sympathies, in general, are with the Workers Party and I do not pretend to be immune to the temptations of partisanship. But I am confident that any impartial investigation would reveal the facts to be as I have stated them. Moreover, I regard it as a disservice to the radical movement to misrepresent facts and an even greater disservice to conceal the partisan point of view or party allegiance which influences a given job of reporting. That sort of writing leads not to revolution, but to endless muddle and recrimination. Whether it is done to the order of Hearst or the Communist Party, it remains hack-writing. In the army we used to sing:

> Forward march, one, two, three
> Make the world safe for democracee
> Un, deux, trois, quatre, what do you think of that?
> We tried to get away from that at home.

Well, I still don't believe Mrs. Spivak raised her son to be a hack writer.

JAMES RORTY

## Soviet Salvation

*Sussman Sees It Through.* A Reappraisal of the Jewish Position under the Soviets. By David Goldberg. Bloch Publishing Co. $2.

THIS is a sincere, sensitively written, and very naive attempt to show that the Jewish problem can be solved and is being solved in the U.S.S.R. The emotional background of Mr. Goldberg and his friends and informants can be easily established by saying that he is a Ukrainian. That background is forever recorded as a black page in man's history in

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"The Pogroms in the Ukraine, 1917-20" published in 1927 by the *Comité des Delegations juives*. It came close to being a case like that of the Albigenses—the extermination by boundless cruelty and bestial torture of a people. Hence, as Mr. Goldberg admits, the Jewish bourgeoisie in the Ukraine was already pretty well "liquidated" and had only to undergo Marxist redemption by grasping "the stern reality of the Thesis." (The capital is Mr. Goldberg's.)

Well, they grasped it, especially the younger people. Why should they not have done so? They had been hounded and slaughtered like beasts. Now the Thesis (if they could bring themselves to accept it) offered physical freedom and security; it offered work and such bread as everyone had; it offered the older people—*if* they could gulp the Thesis and so rise out of the declassed classes—educational opportunities for their children. And what will not Jewish parents do for that? And of course, since intellectual oneness or integrity really *is* a Jewish aspiration, they sought truly to embrace the Thesis and with the blood of all the generations of Talmudists in their veins they had no trouble with a dialectical justification for accepting the goods that were offered them. How human and how inevitable and how blameless!

Then where, from a Jewish point of view (which is a symbol of a universal human one) is the hitch? The Russian situation repeats under other circumstances the process of the West-European emancipation. The ghettos were destroyed and civic rights were given to the Jews and a human status on condition that the Jews grasp "the stern reality of the Thesis" of the Prussian fatherland and the Austrian fatherland and all the other fatherlands for which in the century between they have lived and on a hundred fields of battle died. And what has it availed them? And now they are grasping the Thesis of the Russian fatherland, no, (I beg pardon) the Soviet fatherland, and they will de-Judaize themselves once more and live and die for it. And what will that in the long run avail them?

But how about the mass-settlements in the Crimea and Biro-Bidjan and the free use of the Yiddish language? I need only quote Mr. Goldberg: the U.S.S.R. "guarantees the integrity of every cultural form *provided its content remains socialistic.*" What tragic muddleheadedness! Form and substance of a culture like those of a work of art are inextricably one. The anomalous position of the Jews in exile springs precisely from their living under laws and institutions not of their folk-creation but imposed from without; on earth they *cannot* consecrate; amid moral atmosphere of which the pressure was not unconsciously calculated by their instincts. "They need only accept the socialist content of the State," says Mr. Goldberg with inimitable simplicity of heart, "and be redeemed within it."

That is precisely what the Inquisition offered. But men cannot be redeemed from without nor permanently persuaded by pressure. Under the aspect of eternity Mecca and Moscow and Berlin are at one. The terrific practical and human difference between Berlin and Moscow is this: Berlin will not permit the Jews to be coordinated (*gleichgeschaltet*) but destroys them; Moscow sincerely desires them to be coordinated. And so the Jews of Russia are coordinating themselves. But coordination in Russia (red assimilation to a state-dictated *Weltanschauung*) is in essence no different from the coordinations which have preceded it from the days of Alexandria and Philo Judaeus on.

The Jewish problem can be solved only within a sincerely pluralistic state, a state that consciously renounces even the tendency to be totalitarian, or in the land of Israel and its contiguous territories. All else is another turn of the same old tragic wheel of recurrence and disaster.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

# Heredity and Disease

*Heredity and Disease.* By Otto Mohr. W. W. Norton and Company. $3.50.

*The Chances of Morbid Inheritance.* Edited by C. P. Blacker. William Wood and Company. $5.

*Nature and Nuture.* By Lancelot Hogben. W. W. Norton and Company. $2.75.

*The Influence of Heredity on Disease.* By L. S. Penrose. H. K. Lewis and Company. 5s.

A PERSON interested in the heredity of disease will raise a number of questions: Which diseases are inherited? What is the individual to do who has in his family an inheritable disease? What is society to do with an individual who has an inheritable disease?

The four books here under review give a well-rounded discussion of these questions and allow the reader a fair opinion of the present status of the whole problem. The book by Mohr is an excellent introductory work with a simple, well-written account of the basic biological facts of inheritance; "The Chances of Morbid Inheritance" is a summary volume presenting in brief detail the available data on heredity in a large number of diseases; the two books by Hogben and Penrose are critical studies which indicate the means of analyzing and evaluating genetical data as applied to human beings. There are in eugenic writings so many unattested opinions and assumptions, determined by racial, social and class prejudices that the greatest need is for a sane critical attitude. For this reason the two last-named volumes, though the smallest of the lot, are the most important.

"Heredity and Disease" gives a useful description of the chromosomes and the genes, the physical determinants of heredity. It also contains a very lucid analysis of the inter-action of the genes and environmental factors, an inter-relationship which must be clearly understood in all discussions of heredity. The book is written from a broad historical point of view and the discussions of the application of genetics to human problems, though brief, are sound.

The book edited by Blacker is written by men who for the most part are prominent as physicians rather than as students of heredity. Their contributions are valuable summaries of the scientific literature on heredity in various diseases but they are presented with little, if any, critical judgment. The reader must be warned not to accept, without further investigation, the conclusions so arbitrarily stated.

The outstanding example of the need for this cautious attitude is the chapter on the inheritance of mental disorders by Aubrey Lewis, which is replete with figures whose significance is not at all demonstrated by the evidence presented. The author believes that insanity is inherited, stating, for instance, that of the children of a schizophrenic parent, 8 to 10 per cent will themselves be schizophrenic, and that, among the children of a manic-depressive parent, a third will have the same disorder. These figures, somewhat startling because of the certainty with which they are expressed, are based upon studies which the author quotes. These studies, however, are not at all convincing and there is considerable other work (not mentioned by Dr. Lewis) which leads to a contrary conclusion. The mere statistical analysis of the incidence of a disease in a family offers no proof of its hereditary nature, and in the study of insanity, especially, so little is known of the effects of immediate and remote environmental factors that a dogmatic attitude is certainly unwarranted.

As Hogben says in "Nature and Nurture," "there is a danger of concealing assumptions which have no factual basis behind an impressive facade of flawless algebra." It is to this

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book and to the one by Penrose that the reader turns for the critical background so essential in any discussion on this subject.

Lancelot Hogben, who is Professor of Social Biology in the University of London, looks toward environmental means rather than eugenic ones for the immediate improvement of human difficulties. He says:

> The most formidable problems of civilization do not arise from limitations in the ability of men and women to command the resources of nature. They arise from imperfect coordination of human effort. Experiment alone can decide whether human ingenuity can discover forms of organization which will guarantee the continued development of our present civilization. If with its present endowments mankind lacks the capacity to do so, the application of genetic knowledge can only offer a very remote prospect of producing a race which will.

The small book by Penrose presents a well-balanced discussion of human genetics including a historical survey of the subject. It is especially valuable for the section on Modern Methods of Study in Human Genetics which gives in detail the statistical approach toward problems in heredity. Dr. Penrose too is very cautious in his conclusions as to what may be expected of eugenic measures.

The subject matter of these four volumes is of significance to lay readers as well as to physicians, eugenists, and sociologists. The personal problem involved in a case where inheritable disease or supposedly inheritable disease exists in a family is obvious and must be met by consultation with a competent advisor. More important to us as individuals in a society capable of Hitlerism, Imperial Valley strikes, gubernatorial proclamations condoning lynchings, and Hearst newspapers, is the need to arm ourselves with knowledge to face the barrage of eugenic blather emanating from half-baked pseudo-scientists some of whom hold professorships in world-famous universities. Already sterilization laws are being enacted on the advice of these prophets. The potential dangers of this type of legislation uncontrolled by sane scientific knowledge, are beyond imagination.

DAVID BERES

# Four Rebels

*Four Independents.* By Daniel Sargent. Sheed and Ward. $2.

THE four long essays which make up this book fall under no patent heading. Essentially they are studies in independence, done in an unusual combination of the critical and biographical techniques. Mr. Sargent has chosen four radically different men—Charles Péguy, Paul Claudel, Gerard Manley Hopkins, and Orestes Brownson—for his consideration. To be sure, three of these men are poets, but as poets they are poles apart. What the author has written of one of them, however, is true of all four: "No matter with what group he marched, he was always out of step. He could keep in step only with himself." These men insisted on being themselves, and defied the almost overpowering tendency of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries towards standardization of the individual. They had another thing in common, their Catholicism, for all four either returned to the faith in which they had been bred or were converted to it.

Mr. Sargent's discussion of Gerard Manley Hopkins is perhaps the most valuable part of the book. Hopkins becomes much more understandable when he is seen as a "nineteeth-century English Don Quixote" with a love for difficulties. Because he liked what was difficult, he became a Catholic, which was a hard thing for a member of Benjamin Jowett's Balliol to do. Shortly he became a Jesuit, and after his entrance into the order he was a better poet than he had been before, although the Society of Jesus, as the author points out, is scarcely a training-school for poets. Hopkins, as a young man, had an instinctive interest in nature of a mystical and contemplative type. His theological and philosophical studies helped to clarify this interest. In the writings of Duns Scotus, who had been at Oxford some five hundred years before him, Hopkins found a philosopher "who of all men most sways my spirits to peace." Somehow the doctrines of Scotus and St. Bonaventura clarified in the young Jesuit's brain his intuitive recognition that "The world is charged with the grandeur of God" and ". . . what is Earth's eye, tongue, or heart else, where Else, but in dear and dogged man?" And so he wrote poems which seemed to the staid Robert Bridges, already shocked by novelty of meter and diction, to be guilty of "some perversion of human feeling" and injured by "the naked encounter of sensualism and asceticism." Mr. Sargent makes all this understandable, as it has not been made before, and Hopkins, as an individual and as a poet, takes on flesh and blood: he is no longer merely a legendary revolutionary force in English poetry.

Of the other three essays, that on Paul Claudel has the greatest interest of subject. The one-time Ambassador of the French Republic to Washington is well known as a man of letters, although he is little read. Mr. Sargent depicts him as a disciple of Rimbaud, intent upon escape from the nineteenth-century mechanistic prison. But Claudel started writing poetry at the age when Rimbaud abandoned it and disappeared into East Africa. Claudel's East Africa has been his diplomatic career in New York, Boston, China, and Washington. In China he became free, exultant in independence, a Catholic rebel deserted by the rebels because he is a Catholic and by the Catholics because he is a rebel.

Charles Péguy was perhaps the most independent of these four men. He founded the sect of Péguyism, with himself as the sole Péguyist. At various times he was a revolutionary, a socialist, a Bergsonian, and finally a Catholic. His occupations were even more numerous: student, bookseller, editor, philosopher, poet, and soldier. He wrote gigantic epics. He was accused of having only one subject, Jeanne d'Arc, and he answered that he would write twenty-four "Jeanne d'Arcs." He found truth inexpressible and nothing that he had written satisfactory: so he repeated what he had to say in another way. Sometimes he reads like Gertrude Stein, but he was more of a poet than she. He achieved momentary recognition, won a prize, and was immediately forgotten. He was killed in the second month of the war.

Orestes Augustus Brownson, the only American in the group, was a philosopher. Necessarily he had to be himself. He rebelled against the "Standing Order" of Puritanism, and repudiated his inherited Congregationalism. He became a Unitarian minister in Boston, but was soon found too independent for his congregation. Then he became associated with the Brook Farm group. Finally, in 1844, he became a Catholic and was deemed dead by his associates. Yet until 1876, when he did die, he carried on a highly vigorous one-man campaign of clarification in his review, *Brownson's Quarterly,* with a complete contempt of public opinion. He won recognition abroad in distinguished quarters, and some at home, as perhaps the only American Catholic intellectual of his time. He was a contradiction in terms: a Yankee Catholic philosopher who wrote half a century before a native audience existed for him.

Mr. Sargent's sympathetic and often brilliant studies of these four men, who asserted their individuality and independence in a world that had grown unfriendly to personal freedom, make a valuable and absorbing book.

MASON WADE

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# Renaming Old Directions

*Redirecting Education: Vol. I, The United States.* Edited by Rexford G. Tugwell and Leon H. Keyserling. Columbia University Press. $3.

IF all the world were crooks, and the ideal of crookedness were enshrined in all its institutions, would you prepare a youth for citizenship by condemning thievery or by teaching him to steal? Would you ask him to work for a better world, or to get ahead by the standards of this one? There are many scrupulous people who might choose the more Machiavellian course as regards the individual. But the coöperative virtues form an important aspect of our equipment for survival as a race. And since "goodness" is fundamentally so close to social utility, when considering youth as a group (as educational theory must) even the toughest *Realpolitik* can lead to the conclusion that the young must be taught to reject the status quo. For in the end, a considerable percentage of "civic virtue" must be embodied in a society's methods of production and distribution if that society is to be workable—and there are times when people must endanger themselves as individuals to benefit themselves as members of a group.

Hence the predicament in which the proponents of the "new" education have always found themselves. They begin by noting that the economic system under which we live comes pretty close to organized crookedness—i.e., the systematic effort of individuals to draw more from the communal pile than they put into it. Yet educators are by trade a peaceful lot—and here enters Anomaly One: That even in a world highly militant, the educator may most easily set himself at peace with his fellows by subscribing to the rapacious values in authority and training his students to accept things as they are. To be sure, he need not deny the evidences of trouble all about him. He may parade some modicum of discontent with the present. It is even advisable that he call for a better future, if only his pleas do not imply a basic attack upon current institutions which, if preserved, would make this better future impossible. "Futurism" of this sort may be in exceptionally good repute, if the several complimentary tributes to the forward-looking uttered by the authors of "Redirecting Education" are evidence.

Unfortunately, it is quite reasonable that an educator's attempts to alter the social framework in any serious respect should be resisted. A society which believes in itself and its values will insist that its schools be used to perpetuate these values. A society of crooks which firmly believed in crookedness as a "way of life" would probably insist that its children be taught how to steal. And similarly a society built around the expropriative devices of capitalism will insist that the fundamentals of expropriation be taught and hallowed. In the natural order of events, *education is a function of society.* If we imagine an ideal world, for instance, we think of a just and stable economic structure, with a system of education designed for teaching youth how to maintain this justice and stability.

But in so far as a society is in disorder, and a group arises which questions the set of values in authority, we may expect a tendency to reverse the relationship between education and society. The dissident group wants to make education an instrument of social change. Or, in Dewey's terminology as cited by Tugwell, *it wants to make society a function of education.* It would make education evangelical or reformative, rather than conservative. To educate for socialism in a capitalist country, for instance, would be a schismatic, evolutionary, or revolutionary act, designed to make society a function of education. But to educate for socialism in a socialist country would be a conformist and conservative act, designed to make education a function of society.

The five authors represented in "Redirecting Education" have, on the surface at least, aligned themselves with the society-as-a-function-of-education view. In principle, they would equip people for The Scramble, not by teaching youth to be Perfect Scramblers, but by casting doubt upon the Scrambled system of values. Tugwell is particularly vocal on this score.

As symptomatology, the book is commendable. Tugwell offers much to substantiate his formula for America as "an individualism in people's heads finding various characteristic embodiments but always being forced to compromise with a developing collectivism" (in short, the doctrine of the "cultural lag"). In his chapters on Social Objectives in the American College Leon H. Keyserling indicates the essential difference between a truly integrated social structure and the smatterings of survey and outline which are now mistaken for it. Charles Woolsey Cole discusses some major problems of the historic method—and those who feel that we have solved everything by learning to think in terms of historical development would do well to consider his chapters. Ex-comptroller Joseph McGoldrick contributes a subdued jeremiad concerning our political disorders and their effect upon the teaching of Political Science in the College.

Perhaps the most important trait of this book is best revealed in the article by Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., on Economics and the College. For it is precisely here, in the most radical paper of the lot, that we see how intellectuals of this stamp can get themselves shunted off from criticism of the ailing economic structure into championship of the elaborate Hoover-Roosevelt projects for preserving private business at public expense. Blaisdell decides to lay foremost emphasis upon the fact of business cycles. In the same way, Tugwell had laid foremost emphasis upon the phenomena of individualism. By these slight shifts, one can discreetly evade the central problems of private ownership. One can get to talking encouragingly of such things as collectivism or social planning, and ease past the fact that he is proposing to leave the fundamentals of the business structure intact.

In recent years, we have seen many fantastic ways of proving that Mr. A is incipiently fascist for all his obvious love of human betterment. As the simplest rule of thumb I vote for the following test: A fascist is one who would integrate politics and production through the medium of business. And conversely, an anti-fascist is one who would integrate politics and production by the abolition of business. If this test is acceptable, I hold that all commercial abolitionists are entitled to distrust this book somewhat, and to suspect that the more vital means of propaganda will originate elsewhere.

KENNETH BURKE

# Merrill Moore

*Six Sides to a Man.* By Merrill Moore. Harcourt Brace and Company. $2.

LOUIS UNTERMEYER tells us that Dr. Merrill Moore, a practicing physician, has written 25,000 sonnets, sometimes dictating them to his wife between appointments with his patients or with co-workers in the Boston Psychopathic Hospital. But what of it? Does Dr. Moore represent to Mr. Untermeyer the American poet who is truly a man of action? Obviously he is more the man of action than the poet. These fourteen-line poems are not, in the first place, sonnets. Their rhymes, their inner rhythms, their pauses are not those of the true sonnet at all. They are sonnets only in that they have fourteen lines with, usually, a break in emotion somewhere around the eighth line. Nor is there in these lines any of the fusion or intensity of true poetry. They are rather a kind of

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rapid-fire comment on life—original, sometimes startling, sometimes quite sensitive representations of people, actions, disease, emotions. If one disregards their claim to being poetry, one finds them very interesting. They stir the intellect and emotions, not as poetry does, through a perfect re-presentation of inner conflict and its solution, but as terse, human drama. The more nearly Dr. Moore approaches the method of poetry, that is, to objectify through imagery or through the perfect use of words within rhythm, the less successful he is. When he becomes "poetic" the result is definitely bad; then triteness of imagery and phrase and faultiness of rhythm are all too evident. When he merely tells a story or presents a character, he is original and exciting. Obviously he is a man of wide experience and quick perception, possessed of an excited, energetic mind. He is at his best when he reveals this mind to us bluntly and without effort.

EDA LOU WALTON

## Shorter Notices

*Place of Hawks.* By August Derleth. Loring and Mussey. $2.50.

To read one of the four stories in this volume is to have read them all. Mr. Derleth has one theme, which almost amounts to an obsession: the neuroticism which for some writers seems to be an inevitable by-product of life in rural communities. If we are to believe him, to get back to nature is simply to get a step closer to the region of morbidity, decadence, and positive pathology. If there is very little difference between the stories, there is even less between the characters: the sane ones, who almost approach insanity in their unquestioning acceptance of the insanity of the others, are practically interchangeable; while the others are distinguished from them only by a species of insanity which is almost invariably the same in each. In three of the stories it takes the form of fantasy: the characters live in a world of ghosts or visions more real than the living people around them. In another, the young bride's madness expresses itself in a desire to kill—save for this interesting deviation there is nothing to set her apart from the rest of the psychopaths. Mr. Derleth lacks the intense objectivity which might have transformed these people into unforgettable monsters; on the other hand, he has none of the compassion which might have made them convincing and pitiable.

*The Elaghin Affair.* By Ivan Bunin. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

This new volume of Bunin's short stories does nothing to justify the award of the 1933 Nobel Prize. His was always a slight talent, but it has grown flimsier with the years. The present collection is practically meaningless. It shows no sense of character, no emotional force, no control of ideas. There has been, in almost every story, a ponderous attempt to create "atmosphere," to evoke the past, but even Bunin's nostalgia for the old regime has worn a little thin. It has always been alleged that Bunin is, if nothing else, a remarkable stylist. If one accepts this statement, one must blame a clumsy translator for the execrable, halting prose which fills this volume.

*The King of the Great Clock Tower.* By William Butler Yeats. The Macmillan Company. $1.50.

This miscellany of Mr. Yeats's recent writings contains the one-act play from which it takes its title, six poems on Irish political topics, a group of poems of the supernatural, and prose commentaries on these pieces. In one of the latter the author, at the approach of seventy, expresses some concern that his powers may be waning. A reading of this volume makes such concern seem premature, even though nothing here is on a sufficiently ambitious scale to rank with his greatest works.


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## THE CRISIS OF THE MIDDLE CLASS

Beginning next week *The Nation* presents a series of three timely articles under the title "The Crisis of the Middle Class." The articles will appear in consecutive issues. The author of the series is Lewis Corey whose books "The House of Morgan" and "The Decline of American Capitalism" have attained a wide sale. Mr. Corey's next book, bearing the same title as this series, will appear in September.

### I. The Middle Class Under Capitalism

In this article Mr. Corey traces the history of the middle class and defines the middle class of today. He points out two crises: first, the old crisis of property among the surviving small enterprisers; and second, the new crisis of unemployment. As the problem of unemployment never before confronted the middle class none of the ancient ideals and forms of action offers a solution. Utterly confounded, the middle class gropes toward a change. Will it choose fascism or socialism?

### II. The Middle Class Under Fascism

The author not only shows the plight of the middle class in outstanding fascist countries, but also explains what is likely to happen to the middle class in America if the present forerunners of fascism continue to gain supporters.

### III. The Middle Class Under Socialism

The attitude of the Soviet Union toward the middle class serve as the basis of discussion for this article. Under socialism is the middle class more or less happy than under capitalism or fascism? Could the principles of socialism formulated by the Soviets succeed in the United States of America? Or is a severely altered version required? Mr. Corey answers these perplexing questions and many others in his discussion of this interesting subject.

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# Films

## "She"

ALTHOUGH we have the word of no less an authority than the psychologist Jung that the late Sir Rider Haggard's once very popular "She" is a much underrated work, full of the most profound racial symbolism and worthy of being mentioned with the great masterpices of European literature, the main impression left by the picture at the Radio City Music Hall is that Hollywood is reduced to pretty lean pickings in its continued effort to leave no dust undisturbed on the remaining shelves of nineteenth-century fiction. It will be no surprise if this last refined flight of the Victorian imagination is followed by a resuscitation of the complete works of Mrs. Humphrey Ward, Marie Corelli, and Hall Caine. And there is always Rudyard Kipling, who has, moreover, the advantage of being still alive enough to relay his senilities over the transatlantic cables. The real fact is that in its present desperate search for materials Hollywood does not intend to hesitate at trying to raise the dead.

This reflection is just possibly suggested by the theme of the Haggard classic, which, it will be recalled, is concerned with the attempt of a young man to bring back to England the secret of enduring life discovered by one of his ancestors five centuries ago. In the film the sinister kingdom of She-who-must-be-obeyed is for some reason transferred from the tropics to the arctic zone. Accompanied by a middle-aged scientist and a young girl whom he has rescued on the snow-covered plains of northern Muscovy, the modern Ponce de Leon penetrates into the very sanctuary of the queen who has reigned in terror over her subjects through the seven centuries of her immortal youth. As acted by Miss Helen Gahagan, with her Ethel Barrymore profile and fluttering voice, She is a cross between Lady Macbeth and a very modern lady of unassuaged passions pacing the floor of a Park Avenue apartment. For some centuries she has been awaiting the reincarnation of the young English adventurer whom she has killed out of jealousy of his young wife and now the same situation repeats itself when his descendant, spurning her inducements of eternal life, persists in his loyalty to the mortal beauty of Miss Helen Mack. The monotonous ordeal is brought to an end when Miss Gahagan takes her fire-bath of Life Everlasting only to emerge with a countenance reminiscent of rotogravure photographs of a certain New York billionaire of unconscionable antiquity. Mortality is restored to favor in the audience's mind in a closing scene in which the two lovers are to be seen warming themselves by the earthly fireside of their London home. If the main situation in the film seems to put a slight strain on the imagination, it is next to nothing in comparison with that created by the various settings. Not since "King Kong" has so much cardboard and canvas been sacrificed to the purposes of illusion with so little result as in the earlier sequences of falling glaciers and subterranean landscapes. As for the costumes and general décor of the kingdom of She, the effect is of a review-lecture in stage design from the early Egyptian to contemporary Harlem African. Miss Aline Bernstein has obviously taken great pains with her Greco-Egyptian court guards, but somehow these fail to harmonize with the half-naked savages who dance around the cauldron in the human sacrifice scene. The imagination is addled rather than stimulated by the cooperation of so many talents in the production of "She." It is to be feared that the picture will appeal to those for whom it was intended neither for its theme, which is irrecoverably lost in the setting, nor for its setting, which was lost somewhere between the pages of Rider Haggard's novel and a studio-lot in Hollywood.

WILLIAM TROY

## Contributors to This Issue

WILLIAM FRANCIS is a magazine writer and former New York newspaperman.

CARLETON BEALS is the author of "The Crime of Cuba."

FRED WOLTMAN is a staff writer for the New York *World-Telegram*. In 1929 he was dismissed from the University of Pittsburgh in the so-called Liberal Club episode discussed in *The Nation* of July 24.

ELINORE MOREHOUSE HERRICK is New York Regional Director for the National Labor Relations Board.

RICHARD NEUBERGER, a law student at the University of Oregon, is making a special study of labor conditions in his state.

JAMES RORTY, author of "Our Master's Voice: Advertising," spent last winter in the West investigating social and economic conditions.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN is the author of "Expression in America" and "An Altar in the Fields."

DAVID BERES is a practicing physician in New York.

KENNETH BURKE, author of "Permanence and Change," is at work on a study of motivation.


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